The Church Historical Society.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

REV. W. E. COLLINS, M.A.

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The English Reformation and its Consequences.

Four Lectures,

WITH NOTES AND AN APPENDIX.

BY

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BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR.

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PREFACE.

In this little volume an endeavour is made to deal with some of the more important aspects of the English Reformation. I have not attempted to consider all the facts of the period in detail, believing that there is such a thing as not to see the wood for the trees. That which was temporary and evanescent is therefore passed over very shortly, whilst more emphasis is laid upon the solidarity of the English Church throughout the period, and the catholic character of the movement (so far as England was concerned) in its broad outlines. It was a noble attempt to clear away much that was merely intrusive, and to vindicate as the Faith, in the words of the Canon for

Preachers made in 1571, "the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and that which the catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have collected thence." Nothing of primary importance was lost in the process; and since then the English Church has had to adopt no new principle, but simply to act more fully in accordance with this fundamental principle of the Reformation.

The four lectures which make up the volume were delivered in October last at St Ann's Church, Manchester, and not long afterwards, in substance, at St Mary-le-Tower, Ipswich. A full report of them appeared in the *Church Times*, and they are now published with a certain amount of revision and expansion, especially in the last lecture. Full notes are added, and an appendix of documents and other illustrative matter. None who have already made any attempt at historical reading will need to be directed especially to these latter; but for the benefit of those who have not, the writer may perhaps be permitted to commend them to their study. More is to be learned from the contemporary records

themselves than from any amount of commentary upon them.

Readers of the last two lectures will see that I am greatly indebted to two distinguished men who have been connected with King's College, London: viz. the late George Herbert Curteis, Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Canon of Lichfield; and especially to a greater than he, Frederick Denison Maurice, who formerly occupied the Chair of Ecclesiastical History at King's College which I now unworthily hold. In reverent gratitude for all that I have learned from this great teacher, I would venture to connect his name with this little book.

W. E. Collins.

Allhallows Barking, E.C.
February 25, 1898.

In this Second Edition a number of additional notes are added, a few misprints are corrected, and the wording of a few passages is modified for the sake of clearness. But the substance remains unchanged;

and I am glad to think, from many letters that have reached me, that this little book has not been without its value.

W. E. COLLINS.

ALLHALLOWS BARKING, E.C.
Whitsuntide, 1901.

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THE REFORMATION OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

In these four lectures I propose to consider some of the results of that great change which came over English religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I shall not deal in detail with all the events of the Reformation period, but rather endeavour to place in prominence those features which have a more abiding significance. For to follow out the Reformation changes on such a scale as this would only be to skim very slightly over the surface, or else to involve ourselves in details which, from our present point of view, have comparatively little importance. For when we come to think of it, it matters very little what was felt or done at a particular moment during a period of transition, provided that nothing of permanent value was thereby lost, and provided also that it has left no survival in subsequent history.

I.

Before passing on to the Reformation in England, something must be said with regard to the Reformation as a whole. For what happened with us in England was but part of a larger movement which swept over the whole of Western Europe, and in fact made Europe what it is. There could be no greater error than to think of what happened in England as an isolated event by itself, excepting, indeed, the opposite error, which is still very common, of thinking of what happened in England as merely the result of what happened in Germany, or Switzerland, or elsewhere. Our Reformation was not made in Germany, and was thoroughly English from the first; its motive power and its direction alike came from within, not from without[1]. The natural tendency to

[1] "When a laborious German compiler enumerates the English among the Reformed Churches which own a Genevan origin, . . . an Anglican Churchman, who is not angry, can only be amused. And in truth such a procedure is conspicuously unfaithful to historical fact. Lutheran, Calvinistic, perhaps even Zwinglian lines of influence upon the English Reformation may be traced without difficulty; but there was a native element stronger than any of these which at once assimilated them

replace the foreign papal by a foreign protestant influence soon came to nothing, and a generation or two sufficed to squeeze out the few elements which were alien to English life and character. But nevertheless the English Reformation was itself part of a greater movement which affected the whole of Western Europe, Latin and Teutonic alike, and in civil hardly less than in religious life.

Now the Reformation has been regarded in two different ways.

(*a*) There is, first, the *conventional* view, according to which the Faith once for all delivered to the saints had been lost or overlaid until the whole world was once more involved in total darkness and error or at any rate, until there was only a sort of secret tradition of true evangelical Christianity remaining. And, according to this view, a certain person at length found a Bible, and discovered from it the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and thereupon the light of apostolical Christianity once more flashed

and gave its own character to the result."—Beard, *The Reformation* (Hibbert Lectures) p. 301. These lectures, by a late gifted Unitarian writer, are very suggestive and valuable.

out upon the world—or rather upon some part of it. This is a way of regarding the matter which is by no means extinct at the present day, but I need hardly say that it is one which cannot possibly be made to accord either with the facts of history[1] or with the teaching of the New Testament.

(*b*) As against it we must set the *historical* view of the matter, which will not see in the Reformation a virtual re-discovery of Christianity, and yet recognizes in it an event of the greatest magnitude. In order to understand it aright, we must begin by a clear statement of the primary fact, that Christ has left His own society, His Church, in the world, to accomplish in His Name, and by the inspiration of His Holy Spirit, the things which He "began both to do and teach." And this Church has continued in the world ever since as the Body of Christ, doing His work as best she may, even in her deepest degradation. At all times we see her maimed and incomplete, defiled with the sins of her members, and torn asunder by

[1] Westcott, *Gospel of the Resurrection* ch. iii. § 32. "It is impossible for a Christian of to-day to date the descent of his faith from any critical epoch in modern times, and neglect ten or fifteen centuries as a mere parenthesis in the history of the Catholic Church."

strifes and heresies. And yet at all times God looks upon her and sees her as she is—the spotless Bride of Christ and His witness, showing forth His death until He come. Above all, as, like her faithful members, she is constantly liable to decay and deterioration; so too, like them, she is always reforming herself, or rather being reformed. And naturally enough, after a period of more than usual loss a reformation is likely to be correspondingly difficult of attainment; and when at length it comes, correspondingly violent.

II.

And here is the true key to the Reformation of the sixteenth century. It is to be regarded, not as an isolated thing in the Church's history, but as one amongst many; greater, perhaps, than others in its intensity, and more far-reaching in its consequences, but differing not at all in kind. It takes its place in the history of the Church at large, side by side with other reformations; such as that in the seventh and eighth centuries which produced a wave of missionary enthusiasm throughout the Church; or that in the eleventh century under the influence of Pope Gregory VII, which altered the whole character of the hierarchy

for the better; or that in the thirteenth century, when the mendicant orders were founded, which did so much to fill up the fast-growing gap between the clergy and the laity.

Regarded from this point of view, too, we at once see the inevitableness of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. It was being led up to by a closely-linked chain of causes reaching back into much earlier days. Signs of it may be discerned in the growth of national life throughout Europe; in the spread of individual culture and enlightenment in the south; in the gradual progress of discovery, which altered men's whole conception of the universe in which they lived; in the revival of the study of Greek letters, which had received so great an impetus by the fall of the Eastern Empire. Above all, we can see signs of it in the increasing consciousness of good men that the ever-growing rigidity of medieval formalism was becoming unendurable. All the best men in the Church had long been calling for reform; and the first half of the fifteenth century was one long struggle on the part of theologians and princes and councils to bring it about. The effort, made in ways far less radical than those which ultimately proved necessary.

seemed only to knit the bonds more closely. But the Reformation came at last, simply because it *had* to come; because the whole course of events was moving towards it. The hour was come, and the men. But even the actors who were most concerned in it did not bring it about, however much they might, and did, influence it. For they were as much the product as the agents of the Reformation; and the thing itself would have occurred had Wyclif and Luther and Calvin, Cranmer and Parker, Loyola and Lainez, never been born.

Nor was it a movement which concerned the Northern nations only. A great crisis never leaves men as it finds them; and if it does not impel them in one direction it will in another. In some respects, in renewed vigour and purified moral life, and even in the modification of religious ideals, the lands of the Roman obedience have felt the influence of the Reformation hardly less than those which have broken from that obedience[1]; on the other hand, it has left them committed more definitely than ever to medieval excrescences of doctrine and practice, and enslaved more than ever to the tyranny of the Roman curia.

[1] See Additional Note A, p. 46.

III.

If now we ask what were the real moving forces of the Reformation, three such may be distinguished, of which one was the more important in one country and another in another. We may regard it from three points of view, and each will reveal a ruling principle.

(*a*) *Ecclesiastically*, it was a great conflict between the two contrasted ideals (which however are really complementary) of liberty and centralization. All the tendencies of the middle ages had been in the direction of closer unification and ever-increasing subordination to the central see of Western Christendom. Little by little the power of the Papacy had been extended and that of the Bishop subverted; whilst the growing exclusiveness of the ecclesiastical body tended to the subjection of the laity. But now all the tendencies were the other way: indeed, in the conflict which ensued, liberty tended to degenerate into licence. We know the result: in the South, the bonds were knit yet closer; in the North, schism was the result; whilst England strove, at least, to realize that true *via media* which is not so much an intermediate stage between two extremes as the

larger truth which includes all that is true in both. The English Church and nation broke the bonds of papal tyranny without making any attempt or having any wish to withdraw from the communion of other parts of the Church Catholic. And she endeavoured to restore the laity to their proper place in the Christian society without in any way impugning thereby the apostolical doctrine or the rightful position of the Christian ministry.

(*b*) *Philosophically*, the Reformation was a much-needed reassertion of the subjective in human life and conduct. It set forth the importance of motives as against acts, of intentions as against external rules, of conscience as against law; of faith, in fact, as against works. It is by no accident that the Epistle to the Galatians was so great a favourite with the reformers, for the whole movement was in truth a reassertion of the very teaching which St Paul had driven home to the hearts of his converts in that Epistle, as against the Judaizing legalism of his day. It was a protest on behalf of the reality and inherent rights of the individual, who stands and falls to his own Master and none other.

(*c*) And another side follows from this.

Morally and *theologically*, it was a great revolt against unreality; against a substitution of the trappings of religion for religion itself. It was, as one has called it, "a reaction on behalf of subjective and inward religion against an exaggerated and crushing weight of what had become merely outward and mechanical[1]." Reverent men always tend to build up, in course of time, a wall of observances and forms to express and to guard the truths which they value most deeply. They are bound to do so; it happens naturally, spontaneously: just as every really deep feeling tends to express itself in act. But here is the danger. In less reverent minds the shrine very easily tends to take the place of that which is there enshrined; the wall of outward observances may only shut in that which it was meant to express and show forth. This had most certainly come to be the case in the later middle ages; and the Reformation, from this point of view, was an attempt to clear away all that was merely external and obtrusive, and to return to that which was primitive. Its watchword, from this point of view, was not so much "forward"

[1] A. W. Haddan, *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England* p. 132.

as "backward"; not so much the making of anything new as the clearing away of what was not really old.

Such then are the three great motive forces of the Reformation. Its main characteristics are a struggle on behalf of liberty as against centralization, a setting forward of motives as against works, and a revolt against unreality and externalism. But to these characteristics must be added another.

(*d*) It was the *enfranchisement of a race*. The Teutonic peoples had been brought under the influence of Roman civilization as early as the fourth century; and ever since then they had been growing in weight and importance. Hitherto, however, and especially on the mainland, they had had little or no scope for free developement. The Reformation was the enfranchisement of the Teutonic races. Henceforward they take a leading place in the life of men; and the centre of gravity of Europe has moved to the north of the Alps [1].

And the same thing is true in Christian life and thought. Syria and Greece and Rome had in turn supplied their quota to the interpretation of the faith, and had laid their stored-up treasures of thought and will at the

[1] Cf. Lord Acton, *The Study of History* p. 24.

fect of Christ. The English and German and Scandinavian peoples were now to do the same; just as, we trust, the peoples of India and China and Japan, and many more, will do in time to come. As Greek thought had contributed the thirst for the Truth and the realization of the Life, and Roman thought the realization of a Way, the genius for law and organization, so now Teutonic thought was to bring a quickened sense of free personal communion with God[1].

IV.

Nobody could deny that these were all much needed at the time; and if it be said

[1] See a noble passage in Bishop Westcott's *Gospel of the Resurrection* ch. i. § 41, part only of which can be quoted here. "Its function [i.e. that of the Roman Church] with regard to discipline was as needful as that of the Greek Church with regard to Truth. But at the same time the traditional policy which was its strength prepared the way for its corruption. When the Church became nobler outwardly it engrossed more completely the devotion of its members, and conversely it became more dependent on popular opinion. At last the Christian was in danger of losing his sense of a personal connexion with Christ; and the simplicity of Truth was hidden beneath the accretions of centuries. The spirit of Northern Europe, which had never been completely Romanized, had in the meantime gained maturity, and claimed in the full consciousness of life to hold communion with God face to face."

that in respect to each of them something of failure and loss was incurred, that is only what has to be said of every change, however excellent. The old order cannot change without the loss of something that was good. In this case we can see that each side of the movement had a corresponding danger; and it would be idle to deny that in each respect there was no slight loss.

(*a*) Liberty, as we know, easily degenerates into licence; and in the course of a struggle against tyranny nothing is easier than to go too far in an opposite direction. As we have already said, this was certainly the case in Germany and Scandinavia, where, partly with deliberate intent but far more through mischance and ignorance, a new organization was set up as against that of the Catholic Church at all times.

(*b*) Again, in laying stress on the importance of motives as contrasted with acts, it is easy to attach too little weight to the objective side of duty, and indeed to end by denying that external laws have any binding force upon the believer. And such a result actually followed. Not only have there been terrible outbreaks of antinomianism in isolated centres, but a very careful writer of our own

communion has gone so far as to say that since the Reformation there has been a growing gulf of separation between Christian doctrine and morality [1].

(*c*) Once more, in cutting away that which was only external and accidental, there was a great danger that some things should be cut away which were true and vital: for wheat and tares are not easily separated. Here too it is much to be feared that the danger was not always evaded; and that in not a few cases attempts were made to abolish things which history shows to be really primitive and true, and experience to be essential for healthy Church life [2].

(*d*) And lastly, in realizing their own destiny and call the Teutonic nations have incurred the risk of despising, or at least undervaluing, those great races into whose heritage they have entered and by whose work they have profited. We, to speak of ourselves especially, may not indeed forget that we are *English* Catholics, endowed with all the gifts which God has given us through our own racial character. We could hardly throw off these if we would; and even

[1] Strong, *Christian Ethics* lecture vii. *passim*.

[2] This is recognized by one of the sanest men of the period, Lord Bacon. See the Appendix, No. I.

were it possible we should be the losers by doing it. A so-called "cosmopolitan" is merely one who has lost his nationality, and who is immensely impoverished in the process; and in like manner it is a grievous mistake to think that we should become more Catholic by being less English. Still, the tendency has been to fall into the opposite error: to think that no good thing can come out of Latin Christendom, from the effete Latin races as some people contemptuously and ignorantly call them; and to think that the Eastern Churches, which have stood firm for centuries as the bulwark of Christian Europe against Islam, are more dead than alive. If we do so the loss is of course our own; for many of the lessons which are most needed in our time might have been learned thence, not by servile copying, but by reverent appreciation and assimilation.

I have dwelt at some length—I hope not at too tedious length—upon the Reformation in general, because it seems important to recognize the position of our own Reformation with regard to it. With all our heart we recognize that it was a great and splendid thing, although it fell so far short of its full

effect in some lands, and went too far in others. For although it left the Southern Churches tied to novel definitions of faith and chained closer than ever at the feet of the Papacy, it at least cleansed the Augean stables of the Roman curia, and brought new life and vigour into the whole Church system, and in effect cleared away far more medieval cobwebs than we are always willing to recognize[1]. With regard to Germany on the other hand, and part at least of Scandinavia[2], not only did it mean that some elements of the faith were imperilled or lost by the amateurish attempts of the innovators to defend the simplicity of Christ's Gospel, but also that the apostolical ministry was definitely broken away, and that thus great multitudes of baptized Christians were inevitably shut out from Catholic communion.

This point needs to be stated clearly. We

[1] "Post-Tridentine theology in the Roman Church owes more to Luther than to his scholastic predecessors of the fifteenth century."—Bishop Creighton (*Archbishop Laud Commemoration Book* p. 4).

[2] i.e. Norway and Denmark: for the latter, see a valuable article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April 1891, on "The Loss of the Apostolical Succession in Denmark." With Sweden the case is different; see Dr Nicholson's *Apostolical Succession in the Church of Sweden.*

are not, indeed, called upon to say that our Lutheran or Presbyterian brethren have *no* share of the grace which God gives in His Church through the Christian Ministry, or that their communions are in no sense sacraments; for the creed of the Catholic does not consist in negations. We recognize that the case of those who, like the Lutherans of Germany and the Presbyterians of Scotland, have resolutely striven to secure that at least their clergy shall have been ordained by other clergy, differs entirely from the case of those who have abolished such an ordination. And we gladly affirm that the case of whole Christian communities which have been driven into some act of schism, differs widely from that of individuals who have seceded and formed polities of their own. But whilst all this is true, as Catholic Christians we are bound to keep the deposit which we have received. It is not our business to deny anybody's spiritual gifts[1]; but we may not imperil our own by treating those who have not received the Orders or the Sacraments of the Church as if they had received them.

[1] Cf. Archbishop Bramhall: "No man is hurt but by himself. They ['Episcopal Divines'] unchurch none at all, but leave them to stand or fall to their own Master." (*Works* vol. iii. p. 517, ed. Haddan.)

V.

But however it may be with others, we in England have every reason to be thankful for the course which the Reformation took. With us the struggle for liberty came first, and the other sides of the movement never assumed the prominence that they did elsewhere. Accordingly, passions were never raised in England over the more strictly theological or moral issues in anything like the same degree as on the Continent. And the changes came far more gradually, being spread over a greater series of years. For it is really impossible to say that the Reformation was completed until the Savoy Conference—a century and a third after the beginning of the movement. At no point previous to that date can it be said that things had reached a settlement. Thus there was plenty of opportunity for action and reaction, for one extreme to be neutralized by another, until at length such a settlement was reached as answered to the religious aspirations of England. In all this the English Reformation is noteworthy. We do not, of course, regard it as a new starting-point, or as standing alone, differing in kind from everything else. We see in it no more than an

incident, though a very important one, in the history of the Holy Catholic Church in England. Even we can see—how much more must purer eyes see!—that many things were left undone, and many more were done amiss. Some of them have been amended in later reformations, and others have yet to be. But we find ourselves able to accept this work with all our hearts as part of God's good providence for us, simply because we find that it is like His dealings with His Church in other days and all days—condescending to men's weakness and frailties, and working out His purposes at once *through* and *in spite of* all that they do.

VI.

There are, then, two things with regard to the Reformation in England which should always be borne in mind.

(*a*) It did not turn out in the way that some of its agents expected and desired. The first inrush of a great wave is always higher than the true level which it is to reach, and so it was here. Much that was in the minds of English Churchmen during the period of stress has left no permanent impress upon the Church. Where they would have invented

new institutions instead of restoring and quickening the old, they failed most egregiously, and their work died away. What the Bishop of Durham has said with regard to the Reformation as a whole is eminently true, in a slightly different sense, of the English Reformation—"Its function was to quicken rather than to create, to vivify old forms rather than to establish new"; and it failed "when it arrogated the office not of restoration but of reconstruction[1]." And so one by one the novelties designed by innovators were swept away almost as quickly as they were made—new ideas of the relations of the civil power to the Church, crude attempts to enter into relations with foreign protestant bodies, calvinistical tendencies imported from abroad, and cold undevotional methods in public

[1] Westcott, *Gospel of the Resurrection* ch. i. § 43. "It would be easy to point out the weakness of the Reformation in itself as a power of organization. Its function was to quicken rather than to create, to vivify old forms rather than to establish new. But however we may grieve over its failure when it arrogated the office not of restoration but of reconstruction, it was a distinct advance in Christian life. Where it failed, it failed from the neglect of the infirmities of man and of the provisions which have been divinely made to meet them. On the other hand, the lessons which it taught are still fruitful throughout Christendom, and destined, as we hope, to bring forth a still more glorious harvest."

worship—until by the time that the settlement was reached they had been abolished almost entirely. It is therefore nothing to the point to bring forward the extreme tendencies of particular innovations which were made during the period, only to be swept away as soon as made. For the question is not what certain people would have liked the Reformation to result in, but what it actually did result in.

(*b*) Again, a time of great changes, however good those changes may be in themselves, is not a time of exalted spiritual life; and when a great religious revolution is in progress and men's passions are being unloosed, we must expect to see the results of it in human conduct. Irreligious men are always glad of an excuse for regarding any matter of belief as an open question, and they at once proceed to carry this laxity into the sphere of conduct. This is true, I repeat, however desirable the changes may be in themselves, and the English Reformation is no exception to the rule. The writings, and especially the sermons[1] of the

[1] See Latimer's sermons, *passim*, and especially the *Sermons preached before King Edward VI*; and Haweis's *Sketches of the Reformation* ch. vii. This latter is a very useful book, and deserves to be far better known.

reformers bear abundant testimony to this; and the reformers themselves are very largely influenced by what is really a feature of their time. "For it is well," as the Bishop of London has said, "to abandon all illusions about the sixteenth century. There were strong men, there were powerful minds; but there was a dearth of beautiful characters. A time of revolt and upheaval is a time of one-sided energy, and of moral uncertainty, of hardness, of unsound argument, of imperfect self-control, of vacillation, of self-seeking. It is difficult in such a time to find heroes, to discover a man whom we can unreservedly admire[1]." We may even go further and say that, when found, it is as likely as not that he will side with the old order of things. In that, at least, he has lived and grown; and his experience has taught him that "hitherto hath the Lord helped us"; whereas the new order is, at the best, as yet untried. But at its very worst it may be affirmed without fear of contradiction that the standard of life in England, even if we take the most unpleasing examples, was at least higher than that to be found within the Roman communion, in Italy or elsewhere. And those who attempt to base

[1] See the *Archbishop Laud Commemoration Book* p. 14.

any argument against the English Reformation upon the character, or the beliefs, or the objects of those who were concerned in it must surely be presuming upon the expectation that those to whom they bring such arguments will prove to be ignorant of the history of contemporary European nations.

In a word, then, the only way to see the Reformation as it really was, and to appreciate it at its proper value, is to regard it as a completed whole, and to estimate it as such. For as we have already said, it cannot be regarded as in any sense complete till the Savoy Conference, at the beginning of the reign of Charles II. The usurped authority of the Pope was abolished, no doubt, by 1534, and finally repudiated at the accession of Elizabeth. But it was not till long after this that the Church defined her position as regarded Puritanism, and forbade those to preach in her name who did not believe in her doctrines. It was not till well on in the seventeenth century that, thanks to the preaching of Bishop Andrewes and others, the foreign calvinistic teaching began to disappear before the larger Catholic doctrine of the love of God and the atoning work of Christ for all

mankind; whilst Archbishop Laud's work in reviving the dignity and beauty of our churches and services is just as real a part of the Reformation as that of Archbishop Cranmer in providing us with an English liturgy. The work which was begun under Henry VIII was not completed till 1662. No one person or group of persons within that period—not even any one authoritative document or legislative act—can fairly be taken as representing the whole mind of the reformed English Church. And men have no more right to take Bishop Pilkington, or Thomas Becon, or King Edward VI as the representative of the completed Reformation settlement, than they have to take Bishop Bonner, or Archbishop Pole, or Queen Mary.

VII.

For all these that I have named were alike members of the English Church, and the fact must not be forgotten. The Reformation of the English Church was after all very much like any similar change in the English State. There were a number of parties[1] in the Church

[1] We must of course remember, in speaking of parties, that we are thereby only distinguishing the main tendencies of the period; and that, just as at the present

with diverse aims—a Papist party whose one chief desire was to preserve, or to restore, the papal authority in England; an extreme radical party which desired to overturn almost everything, and start building afresh on the clear space thus to be obtained; and the great mass of sober-minded people in the centre, including those who, differing very widely amongst themselves with regard to many grave questions, were yet agreed in their general aim. They saw the necessity for clearing away many abuses, and for abolishing the usurped authority of the Pope; but they had no intention that this should involve any fundamental change in the constitution of the Church or her doctrine.

The course of the struggle was modified by all kinds of secondary causes, which gave help now to one, now to another of these parties. The Tudor king was at all times something very like an absolute monarch, so that the side upon which he threw his

day, there were many, and they of the best men of the day, who united in themselves the characteristics of more than one party. Such a classification is always merely a generalization for purposes of convenience; and men are far too varied really to fit into any such scheme, even in these days of party politics.

weight for the time being was certain to have its own way; and even James I and Charles I, thanks to the current theories of kingship, had no little influence upon the course of events. Then again the nobles were not absolutely powerless, although, as a class, they had never been weaker. They had never recovered from the crushing blow of the Wars of the Roses, and were far too dependent upon the Crown to be very important; nor can they be given the credit for any special convictions. Still, they were occasionally influential; as for instance under Queen Mary, until an arrangement had been made with the Pope that they were not to disgorge the spoil of the monasteries; and again under Elizabeth, when they seem to have resented the growing influence of the clergy. There were times too when the peasants or the townsfolk made their influence felt; as for instance in the Pilgrimage of Grace, when the monasteries were being destroyed; and again in 1553, to prevent any tampering with the succession to the throne; and in 1558, to put an end once and for all to the fires at Smithfield; and again under Charles I, to fight against what they took for a recrudescence of Popery. And once more,

it sometimes happened that the course of events was modified for the time being by the exigencies of foreign policy or the like. All these, however, were but local and temporary interruptions to a struggle which gradually tended to its natural conclusion; and the Church of England ultimately found rest in a settlement which really expressed her true mind.

Now the history of the Reformation is simply the history of the struggle between these various parties of the Church. First one, then another, had the upper hand. At first changes were made wisely and moderately, on the whole, in spite of Henry's capriciousness; then, under the government of Edward VI's Council, there was a period of violent destruction; then followed a popish reaction under Mary, and so on. It was not till the Savoy Conference that rest was finally reached. But looking broadly at the period as a whole, one thing at any rate is clear. We can see that the changes—whatever their true nature may have been—affected the great mass of the English Church and people, clergy and laity alike, rulers and subjects. It was no movement of a *part* of the Church or

nation, but, broadly speaking, of the *whole*. The change may or may not have affected the fullness of our faith or the catholicity of our Church; that is a matter which we must consider next; but at any rate it affected English Christianity as a whole. There can be no question that the identity of the English Church was maintained throughout, as far as regards those who are its members. In this sense at least the continuity of the Church is undoubted, and would be acknowledged (as indeed it has been) by many who are in avowed opposition to her, and upon the most widely different grounds [1].

VIII.

But just as at one or two points in the history of the English nation certain discontented persons have severed their lot from that of their brethren, so too it has been with the Church. A small section found themselves unable to fall in with what had been done. These accordingly withdrew from the communion of the Church, being practically the first who had done so. By degrees they

[1] e.g. Baird, *Hibbert Lectures* p. 311 (quoted in the Appendix, No. II).

organized themselves into a sect, and are the progenitors of the modern Roman Catholic body in England.

Presently their example was followed by others on the opposite side. Even before the Church had shaken herself free from the fetters of the past, a strong party had come into existence which was anxious to force the Church into further changes, viz. into the abolition of all that is not explicitly commanded in Holy Scripture. And when at length the Church's mind was clearly expressed against them, these "Puritans" also felt themselves bound to secede from her communion. Thus there came into existence a number of bodies which differed from one another even more than they all differed from the English Church, although each claimed to express the true Scriptural idea of the Church.

It will be seen that these various bodies, whose fundamental principles are in reality mutually destructive, can only claim a *locus standi* for themselves by alleging that the Reformation had demolished the Catholic Church of England by going too far, or else that it was inadequate because it did not go far enough. And obviously, unless we have

involved ourselves deeply in heresy or schism, they have no business in England at all; that is, according to the principles which would have been universally recognized in those days. For, be it remembered, the modern idea that the intensity of the religious convictions of a people varies directly as the number of its sects had not yet been invented. It remains therefore to examine briefly the changes which were actually made in England, in order to see whether any of them really touch the position of our Church.

IX.

(*a*) It ought hardly to be necessary to say anything about the ignorant assertion that at the Reformation a Roman Catholic Church was abolished and a Protestant Church set up in its stead. What has been said already might serve to show how ridiculous any such notion is. Still, old falsehoods die hard, especially when, like this, they have been repeated and repeated till they have become commonplaces. And as this assertion has been made, and still is, by those who ought to know better, a word must be said about it. If then the old Church ceased to exist, and a new one was made, let our opponents say when

this was done, and let them produce something in the nature of evidence of the fact. Needless to say, they have no evidence whatever to produce; and they do not agree, and never have, as to when it took place [1]. When they have agreed upon the date, and have their evidence ready, we shall be glad to see it. Meanwhile, we affirm that there is no Church in Christendom which has so unbroken a history as we have. There has never been such an overturning of all ecclesiastical order as befell the Church of Spain during the period of the Moorish dominion, when for centuries together many of the episcopal sees were practically non-existent, and the whole organization of the Church was overturned [2].

[1] This point is treated in some detail in Dr Wickham Legg's tract on *The Burial Service* pp. 4–8 (Church Historical Society's publications, No. XXI).

[2] A considerable number of the Bishops fled from their sees, deserting their flocks in the time of danger, ostensibly to save the relics which belonged to their Churches. The Spanish historian Don Vicente de la Fuente (*Historia Eclesiástica de España* vol. iii. p. 91 f.) does his best to minimize the number of those who did so; but he makes it clear in the following chapters that in most of the Moorish khalifates all ecclesiastical order had ceased for the time.

The ecclesiastical primacy of "all the Spains" (*in totis Hispaniarum regnis primus*) had become attached to the see of Toledo in the early seventh century. This ceased

We have never had our Primates absent from England for a period of seventy years; nor have we had two or three Archbishops of one see at a time, excommunicating and cursing one another, to the scandal of the faithful: yet each of these disasters has befallen the Church of Rome[1]. We have never had all our Bishops removed and the bishoprics dissolved and refounded by a stroke of the pen; yet this is what happened to the Church of France in 1801–2[2].

entirely for some centuries, and was only restored by Pope Urban II in 1088 (Florez, *España Sagrada* vol. vi. trat. vi. Dissert. 2, especially § viii; Urban's bull is given in Appendix v, p. 337. See also Ruinart, *Vita Urbani II—Ouvrages Posthumes de Mabillon et de Ruinart* tome iii. p. 344, cf. p. 42). This was ratified by Innocent II and Celestine, and ultimately by Lucius II in A.D. 1144 (V. de la Fuente, *op. cit.* iv. 97).

The primacy thus restored by Papal authority was not readily acquiesced in; and down to the seventeenth century, if not later, the primacy of all the Spains was claimed by the Archbishops of Braga. See the very rare *Tractatus de Primatu Bracharensis Ecclesiae in Universa Hispania*, by Roderigo da Cunha, Archbishop of Braga (Braga, M.DC.XXXII).

[1] In the so-called Babylonish Captivity (1308-1376) and the period of the Great Schism (1376–1418).

[2] For this subversion of the whole French hierarchy, and the opposition which it called forth, see Guettée, *Histoire de l'Église de France* liv. xiii. § 4 (vol. xii. p. 378 f.). The Concordat itself and the bull and brief which accompanied it are given, in French, at p. 413 f.

But it may be said, even though the continuity of the Church is unbroken, may it not have so far changed its character as to have ceased to be part of the Catholic Church? Yes, undoubtedly; such a new character might have been given to it as to make it no longer what it was. And therefore it becomes necessary to ask whether any of the changes made in England have had this effect.

(*b*) With regard to Holy Orders: we readily admit that this is a vital question; any tampering with Holy Orders would be fatal to our Catholicity. For the Ministry is an Ordinance of Jesus Christ Himself. Bishops, priests, and deacons derive their office from Him by the laying-on of hands, not from a call of the congregation; and no man can admit to Holy Orders who has not himself received the commission which empowers him to do so. But the English Church has never tampered with Holy Orders. I do not propose to deal at length with what our opponents have to say on this head. It has all been answered many times over, and especially by our Archbishops in their *Reply to the Papal Letter* Apostolicae Curae. But it is worth noticing that there has been a remarkable change of ground here. The old objections to the con-

secration of Bishop Barlow and Archbishop Parker—objections which violated every kind of probability—have been shelved in favour of others[1]; and I am glad to see, if a newspaper report is to be trusted, that an eminent Roman Catholic clergyman[2] of Lancashire has acknowledged that there is no reason to doubt that the laying-on of hands in the English Church has been uninterrupted. For the rest we take our stand on the plainest of facts. The English Church recognizes no clergy but those who have been episcopally ordained, and at the beginning of her Ordinal she expresses her intention that the orders of Bishop, priest, and deacon, which have been in the Church "from the Apostles' time,"

[1] It is true that Cardinal Vaughan and his colleagues declare (*Vindication of the Bull* Apostolicae Curae p. 10) that "the Bull neither pronounces nor insinuates any judgment, favourable or unfavourable," on the value of these objections; but the force of the Pope's language is unmistakeable. See Additional Note B, p. 46.

[2] The Rev. Charles Coupe, M.A., S.J., Professor of Moral Philosophy at Stonyhurst; in a sermon preached at St Wilfrid's [Roman Catholic] Church, Preston, on Sunday, Feb. 7, 1897. "Is the Anglican rite, then, valid as to the matter? Yes, there is no reason to suppose that the laying on of hands was ever discontinued in the Establishment. Accordingly, about the matter the Bull raises no question. The whole dispute, therefore, concerns the form."—*Preston Herald*, Feb. 10, 1897, p. 3.

shall be "continued and reverently used and esteemed." By these orders, then, we mean what the Catholic Church always did mean; we mean all that a Bishop, priest, or deacon is, according to the mind of Christ. If our Roman brethren mean something more than this, so much the worse for them.

(*c*) A number of practical changes which were made during the Reformation period need not detain us here; because nobody, I suppose, would assert that they could have destroyed the English Church. The dissolution of the monasteries, for instance, was a change of the first magnitude; but nobody would dream of saying that a Church ceased to exist because of this action on the part of the civil power; and, as a matter of fact, the same thing has been done since then in every Roman Catholic country in Europe, with the single exception of Austria[1]. The putting of the services into English was another important change; but this also cannot be vital. I hear that at some of the Roman Catholic churches in London

[1] Even in Austria, under Joseph II, out of two thousand convents seven hundred disappeared.—J. Franck Bright, *Joseph II* p. 138. According to Cardinal Manning, Pius IX said that the destruction of the monasteries in Italy was a blessing in disguise.—Purcell, *Life of Manning* vol. i. p. 387.

(and perhaps elsewhere also) they now chant the Psalms in English; perhaps in the course of a century or two (if indeed they exist so long) they may have learned to say Mass in English also. The abolition of compulsory confession and compulsory celibacy for the clergy, too, were great things; but seeing that each was the abolition of a medieval restriction it can hardly be said to cut us off from the past.

(*d*) Or again, one of the objections most commonly brought in former days—we hear less of it now—was against the relations of the king to the English Church. The Papal Supremacy was abolished, so we were told, and the Royal Supremacy was set up in its stead. The statement is simply untrue. The Royal Supremacy[1] has existed ever since there was a King of England; he has always been supreme over all his subjects, clergy and laity, and all their concerns, just as any other king has. And certainly his supremacy was not less vigorously exercised as regards the Church (though in much less orderly fashion)

[1] On this subject see *The Royal Supremacy in England*, by Mr H. O. Wakeman (No. XXIII of the Church Historical Society's publications).

than at the present day. It is true that it was reasserted at the Reformation, and true also that the Crown resumed the exercise of certain ancient rights which hitherto, with its permission or at least tacit sanction, the Papacy had exercised. It is true also that for a time things went even beyond this; Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Mary made use of a novel title, *Supreme Head*[1], and interfered in ecclesiastical affairs in a way hitherto unheard of. This, however, ceased after the first year of Mary's reign, and was never afterwards revived. For by the oath in the Act of Supremacy of 1559 the Queen was declared to be, not Supreme Head[2], but "the

[1] It was made use of in the writs for the first Convocation of her reign, in the titles to the statutes of the first two sessions of Parliament, in the licences issued to preachers, and elsewhere: see Collier, *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain* vol. vi. p. 38. The licence for preachers is printed in the Appendix, No. III.

[2] It would appear that the words *Supreme Head* were in the original draft of the Act, and that they were removed because they were capable of being misunderstood. At any rate, this is the natural meaning of a passage of Heath's speech on the Bill, made in the House of Lords: "Consider what this Supremacy is . . . . If spiritual (as these words in the Act import, *supreme head of the Church of England, immediately and next unto God*) then it would be considered, in what points this spiritual government is to consist."—Tierney's *Dodd* vol. ii. p. ccxlviii.

only Supreme Governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." And in order to make the meaning yet more clear, the oath goes on at once to state that "no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm[1]." And when certain persons attempted to give the title a meaning which it was never intended to have, it was carefully explained that "her majesty neither doth nor ever will challenge any other authority, than that . . . which is and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms[2]."

But even the worst encroachments of the civil power in England could easily be matched by what has taken place in countries of the Roman obedience, either before or since. I

[1] 1 Eliz. c. 1. See the Appendix, No. VI.

[2] From *An Admonition to Simple Men, deceived by malicious*. For this and other explanations of "Supreme Governor," see the Appendix, No. IV.

need not give many examples; but any who feel aggrieved by the way in which Bishops are chosen in England should take notice of the sad fate of the French Church. There the Bishops are chosen jointly by the Pope and the Minister of Public Worship, who may be an avowed atheist or a Mohammedan; and sees are often kept vacant for long periods because this strangely assorted pair cannot agree [1].

(*e*) Once more, many corruptions of doctrine were cleared away, sometimes with no very gentle hand. In many cases these were simply pious opinions, or popular superstitions, or reverent observances, which had clustered about certain of the doctrines of the faith, and tended to obscure those doctrines in the mind of the common people; but in others there were corruptions of a more serious nature, which struck at the very root of the Christian religion. I am inclined to think that we do not always remember how terrible has been the effect of this tampering with the Faith on the part of the Roman Church. However, this is not our present subject. We are here concerned not with other people's doctrines, but with our own. And our defence

[1] In Portugal, again, the right of nomination to all benefices belongs to the King, and is exercised by the Minister of Justice in his name.

of such changes as were made at the Reformation is that we introduced no new doctrines; we simply endeavoured as best we could, in a time of unexampled difficulty, to cleave fast to the Faith once delivered. We have no standard, and have never had any, other than Holy Scripture as interpreted by Catholic tradition; and if any can instruct us more perfectly by that standard, the English Church has never been backward to learn.

(*f*) But the real *crux* of the matter is yet to come: it is the abolition of the usurped authority of the Pope. Candid English Romanists tell us that this is really the vital question, and that without this all goes for nothing[1]. We reply that the modern Papacy is a marvellous fungoid growth which would have been absolutely inconceivable in early days; and that, in spite of the good work which it has been the means of doing in

[1] Compare the statement of Coleridge, *Notes on English Divines* vol. ii. p. 75. "The whole of Popery lies in the assumption of a Church, as a numerical unit, infallible in the highest degree, inasmuch as both which is Scripture, and what Scripture teaches, is infallible by derivation only from an infallible decision of the Church. Fairly undermine or blow this up: and all the remaining peculiar tenets of Romanism fall with it, or stand by their own right as opinions of individual doctors."

times past, it has also been an intolerable tyranny. We abolished in the sixteenth century a burden which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear; and subsequent history has only convinced us with more and more of certainty that we are right. Here is the parting of the ways. With an opponent who will not meet us on the ground of Scripture or Catholic custom we have no common basis. Their standards do not appear to be the same as ours; we can see, in Dr Waterland's words, what they chiefly trust to: "It is not Scripture, it is not antiquity, but a philosophical principle, to which Scripture, Fathers, everything must yield [1]."

[1] Printed on the title-page of Archer Butler's *Letters on Romanism*. I have not found it in Waterland's collected *Works*, but the following passages may be compared: "As to the Church of Rome, I desire no *better*, no *other* argument against her, than the *same* I make use of against the Arians, viz. Scripture interpreted by *primitive* and *Catholic* tradition. Down falls *Popery* and *Arianism* too, as soon as ever this principle is admitted" (vol. vi. p. 41). "The Romanists talk of *antiquity*, while we observe and follow it. For, with them, both Scripture and Fathers are, as to the *sense*, under the correction and control of the *present* Church: with us, the present Church says nothing, but under the direction of Scripture and antiquity taken together, the one as the *rule*, and the other as the pattern and interpreter" (*ib.* p. 654). "The Romanists are great pretenders to *Catholic tradition*, or

primitive antiquity: and yet the *fact* is so full and plain against them, that we can point out to them in every age, when, and where, and how every *corruption* almost commenced, and every *innovation* crept in: or can prove, at least, that it was not from the beginning. And it gives ground for suspicion, that they are themselves conscious of the nullity of their claim, when they decline fair disputation. They screen themselves under *modern* infallibility, and take refuge commonly in their *own* authority, as *sole* judges of every thing, rather than rest the issue of the cause upon a strict and fair inquiry into *ancient* fact" (ib. p. 659 f.).

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

A (p. 11).

"The Reformation was a moral protest, and its results were seen within as well as outside the Roman communion. The Council of Trent was a reforming Council; the Jesuits were the children of the Reformation; and Roman Christianity in the strength of its own moral revival, even in the moment of defeat, became again a conquering power."—Aubrey Moore, in *Lux Mundi* p. 79, ed. 1889.

B (p. 38).

All Roman Catholics of repute have now given up the Nag's Head Fable. We may quote Padre Brandi: "Nous ne faisons pas difficulté de reconnaître la fausseté de cette

légende et nous regrettons vivement que quelques auteurs catholiques récents, étrangers à l'Angleterre, et peu au courant des choses anglaises, l'aient donnée dans leurs écrits comme une raison de rejeter la valeur des Ordinations anglicanes" (*Rome et Cantorbéry* p. 62). He adds also that "*la fable de la taverne* était connue et appréciée comme telle à Rome dès l'année 1684–1685." This being so, it would be interesting to hear how it befell that the Fable continued to be brought forward for two centuries by most of the best known Roman Catholic writers on the subject, both in England and on the continent.

With regard to Barlow's consecration, the same writer says (p. 58): "il demeure douteux qu'il ait jamais reçu la consécration épiscopale, car on ne trouve de ce fait aucune preuve positive." But Mgr (now Archbishop) Gasparri regards it as historically certain (*De la valeur des Ordinations anglicanes* p. 22).

LECTURE II.

ROMANISM.

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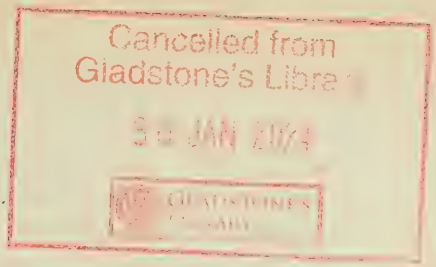

ROMANISM.

LET us recall to our minds how far we had gone in the last lecture. We saw that the Reformation was a great movement which was led up to by causes of the most far-reaching character, and that it affected the whole of Western Christendom. We saw that in some lands, as in Germany, it went too far in its war against abuses and its strivings after liberty, and resulted in a falling away from much that had been of the essence of the Church system from the first. We saw that elsewhere, as in the south, the centralizing forces were too strong; so that although many abuses were reformed, and many springs of new life opened, yet the last state was one of greater bondage than the first. Meanwhile, in England things took a middle course. And without in any way

thinking that everything was done perfectly, we contend that our principle of appeal to Holy Scripture and Catholic tradition is the right one, and that in the main it was faithfully carried out. Above all, in spite of the turbulence and disorder inseparable from such a period of crisis there was nothing like a breach of continuity; the Church which existed before the Reformation continued unchanged in substance after it. There was no interference with our Apostolical ministry. No new creed was made, and no creed of the Catholic Church was rejected or tampered with. Such practical changes as were made were in the direction of a return to Catholic practice. In a word, as Archbishop Bramhall has said, "I make not the least doubt in the world that the Church of England before the Reformation, and the Church of England after the Reformation, are as much the same Church, as a garden, before it be weeded and after it is weeded, is the same garden; or a vine, before it be pruned and after it is pruned and freed from the luxuriant branches, is one and the same vine[1]."

We turn now to the consideration of

[1] *Works* vol. i. p. 113 (ed. Haddan).

Romanism, or Popery, as men accurately called it in those days. It has been already pointed out that from the beginning of the Reformation period there was a papist party: a party, in other words, whose distinguishing principle was a desire to uphold, or to restore, the authority of the Pope in England. It included, as we have said, many very good men. But they were of that somewhat timid temper which shrinks from making changes, however necessary, and which, secure in its own probity, does not readily believe that any particular change is needed at all.

I.

In that age of force, and above all with a capricious tyrant like Henry VIII on the throne, we must not of course assume that all those who acquiesced in the abolition of the usurped authority of the Pope did so voluntarily. Still, men as a whole, and Englishmen in particular, have never been backward in holding to their opinions; and therefore it is noteworthy how few they were who did not accept the change. At first they consisted for the most part of certain persons who had already ceased to look at things from

an English standpoint. Some of them were men who, like Pole, had practically become foreigners owing to a prolonged residence abroad, and the assimilation of Italian methods of thought; and others, like the brave Carthusians who suffered for their convictions in 1535, were monks or friars, and therefore exempt from the jurisdiction of the English Bishops, so that they looked only to their superiors abroad [1]. The great bulk of Englishmen accepted the change without hesitation. And amongst those who so accepted it, we must remember, were all those persons who afterwards became Bishops under Mary.

Nor, in the case of some at least of them, was it merely a passive acquiescence in something that they could not help. The repudiation of the papal authority, and indeed the assumption of the novel title of "Supreme Head," was defended in writing by Bishop Gardiner [2] of Winchester, afterwards Mary's Lord Chancellor, by Stokesley the Bishop of London,

[1] The Cluniac, Cistercian, and Premonstratensian houses were exempt, as also the Friars. Of the Benedictines proper, only five abbeys were exempt: viz. St Albans, Christ Church and St Augustine's at Canterbury, Westminster, Evesham, and St Edmund's-Bury. Taunton, *English Black Monks of St Benedict* i. 46.

[2] See Additional Note A, p. 90.

and others. And when Reginald Pole sent to Henry VIII his lengthy epistle on the Unity of the Church, in which he tried to make out that by the abolition of the Pope's authority we had departed from that unity, he was answered by the great Bishop Tonstall of Durham and by Dr Starkey. They pointed out that, like so many after him, he had simply assumed what he professed to prove, viz. that what had been done in England constituted a breach of Church unity. "Ye presuppose for a ground," writes Tonstall, "the king's grace to be swerved from the unity of Crist's Church; and that in taking upon him the title of supreme head of the Church of Englonde he intendeth to separate his Church of Englonde from the unity of the whole body of Cristendom. . . . His full purpose and intent is, to see the laws of Almighty God purely and sincerely preached and taught, and Cristes faith without blot kept and observed in his realm; and not to separate himself, or his realm, anywise from the unity of Crist's catholic church, but inviolably, at all times, to keep and observe the same, and to reduce his church of Englonde out of all captivity of foreign powers, heretofore usurped therein, into the pristine estate that all

churches of all realms were in at the beginning[1]."

The abolition of the Pope's usurped authority was accepted, then, even by many whom we might not have expected to accept it. And to their lasting honour, they did not attempt to secede from the Church even under the more violent changes of Edward's reign. Some, indeed, were illegally imprisoned and deprived of their sees; but still they offered no sign of disloyalty to the Church, however much they might dislike what was being done. They simply retired into lay communion and waited for better times; whilst such as were not deprived continued still to hold their benefices and to do their work. English people at large accepted, however grudgingly in some cases, the acts of the Church of which they were members.

II.

However, on the accession of Mary things were altered. Gardiner and Bonner, Heath

[1] Burnet, *History of the Reformation* vol. vi. p. 179 (ed. Pocock). This position, which was deserted by the Bishops under Mary, was firmly upheld by many of the martyrs for religion during her reign. See, for example, the examination of John Rogers.—Foxe, vi. 593 (ed. Pratt and Stoughton); Dixon, iv. 310. I have given an extract in the Appendix, No. V.

and Tonstall, seem to have thought that the restoration of the papal authority was almost the only hope of obtaining security against such changes as had been made under Edward VI; they acquiesced in it accordingly, and repudiated their own former action. One extreme, as is not unusual, had produced another. The work of the great anti-papal statutes of Henry's reign was undone, and England was again brought under the authority of the Roman see. When at length in 1555 Cardinal Pole landed, and proceeded to reconcile the Church and nation to the Papacy, it was done in perfectly regular ways, and outwardly at least with the consent of the clergy and people. Some, no doubt, bore it very hardly; a considerable number of English clergy and laity fled to the Continent rather than acquiesce, and many suffered imprisonment and death itself in the same cause. The like happened, to a greater or less degree, at most of the other periods of change. But still there was no attempt to secede or to form a new communion, and the great bulk of the clergy and laity alike remained in their former state and fell in with the new changes as far as they could.

But the reconciliation under Pole was a greater triumph for the papal party than if

it had merely been a restoration of what had previously existed in England. It was no slight thing that the principles with regard to unity held by such men as Tonstall and Gardiner should have had to give way to the ultramontane theory of Pole; and no slight thing, too, that England should thus have been brought into the atmosphere, so to speak, of the Council of Trent, which had been sitting intermittently since 1542: in fact, almost ever since the breach with Rome. For the principles which were put forward in that Council, respecting the relation of the Bishops to the Pope as the source of their jurisdiction, were such as would not have been dreamt of in England fifty years before, nor yet in Spain or France. No doubt modern Roman theories of the relation of the Pope to the Church are to be found before this time; but at the Council of Trent they first became in some measure impressed upon the whole Roman communion [1]. And thus it is quite as true to say that the state of the English Church under Mary is an innovation, as to say that its state under Edward VI was an innovation [2].

[1] See the author's *Beginnings of English Christianity* p. 152, note 1. Methuen, 1898.

[2] It may be mentioned also that the Marian abbey of Westminster was founded by Pole on the Cassinese

Thus things continued until the end of Mary's reign; and if the treatment of those who disapproved of the changes had been cruel and intolerant under Henry and Edward, it was certainly far more so under Mary. And in spite of their bad effect upon those who had acquired a horrible familiarity with them[1], the fires of persecution probably did more to purify and refine English religion than anything else. Whether the idea originated with Mary or her advisers, this un-English method of persuasion cleared people's minds. Men who may be called upon to burn for what they believe are at least likely to see to it that mere fads do not take the place of faith; and the waywardness of Edwardine experimentalism in religion gave place to the sober seriousness of men who knew their own minds. And as against this the papist party had comparatively little to oppose.

Few things are more significant and more strangely sad than the last year of Mary's

model, hitherto unknown in England. The abbat was to be appointed for three years instead of for life, without *congé d'élire* or royal confirmation.—Taunton, *English Black Monks of St Benedict* i. 173 f.

[1] See Dixon, *History of the Church of England* vol. iv. p. 726.

life. She was deserted by her husband, she had lost the one remaining vestige of England's continental power, she was at variance with the Papacy[1], for which she had given up everything, and the purifying influence of fire had done just the opposite of what she had hoped. Her beloved cousin Pole the Archbishop of Canterbury, her chancellor Gardiner, and nearly half the number of the Bishops were dying or dead. Everything seemed to have united to prove that she was fighting against a Power that was greater than she[2]. It irresistibly suggests to the mind the last days of the Emperor Julian; dying, after a life spent in the attempt to uproot Christianity, with the consciousness that the Galilean had conquered.

[1] Dixon, *op. cit.* chapters 29, 30; Lingard, *History of England* v. 254 (ed. 1854).

[2] "When Reginald Pole died on the same day as Queen Mary, both of them worn out with impotence and disappointment, it was the sign of the work rejected and put away for ever. However charitably we may judge of the motives and characters of the agents in that work, God, who is more charitable than we, said plainly that He would have no more of it, and cleared England of it, and threw the field open for a different kind of work and workers; and those in high ecclesiastical office who had been misled into siding with Pole and Mary slipped quietly away, and left God's new agents to do God's new work."—From a sermon preached by Dr Mason

III.

On Mary's death at the end of 1558, the whole policy fell to pieces like a house built of cards; and when Elizabeth came to the throne, the mind of the Church was so clearly made up that what would be done was already a foregone conclusion. The papal authority was once more, and finally, abolished; the English services were restored, and their use made obligatory and binding upon all persons; and the sovereign was declared supreme governor over all her people, to the repudiation of all foreign jurisdictions whatever, civil or ecclesiastical. "The Queen's Highness," said the Act of Supremacy, "is the only supreme governor of this realm . . . and of all other her Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal; and . . . no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate has, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm[1]."

at the Selwyn College Commemoration in 1896.—*Selwyn College Calendar for* 1897, p. 85.

[1] The main sections of the Act are given in the Appendix, No. VI.

And in accordance with the practice and the principles of the day, all persons in authority were required to take an oath that they would accept the provisions of this legislation. The penalty for refusing the oath was deprivation. Here of course was a hardship. It was one thing to make laws, and to impose penalties upon those who broke those laws, and quite another thing to deal with people's conscientious beliefs, and make them accept them under the sanction of an oath. But such were the methods of the day, and no one side was more given to them than another. Again, fines were imposed upon such as refused to attend the services of the Church, but this too was one of the methods which was then resorted to on all hands [1].

Now what was the result?

(*a*) First, as regards the lay people. The great majority accepted the changes with little hesitation. Most of these, indeed, welcomed them, and settled down happily to the enjoy-

[1] Another penal statute was passed in 1563 (5 Eliz. c. 1, but not put into operation, by which anybody publicly upholding the authority of the Pope in England is to incur the penalties of *praemunire*, and on a second offence of high treason. And the list of persons to whom the oath of supremacy is to be tendered is enlarged.

ment of what they had won by their endurance. A considerable section, however, accepted them reluctantly, but still conformed, falling in with what had been done by the Church of which they were members in the sensible way in which Englishmen do. And in the great majority of cases they had their reward by finding that what they had accepted unwillingly enough soon became very precious. But it is clear that from the first some did not conform; they paid their fine for rejecting the services of the Church, and became *Recusants*.

(*b*) Secondly, as to the clergy. Of these also the vast majority accepted the changes; for out of some 9,400 clergy at the time[1], only 189 are known to have been deprived for refusing the oath; and the number cannot have been much larger, for even the Romanist

[1] This is Camden's estimate; it is if anything rather too high. There were, indeed, nearly 9,400 parishes in England at the time; the Visitation of 1559 gives 8911 (S. P. Dom. Eliz. vol. cvi. No. 7), and a contemporary list in the first Douai Diary, which gives the number in each diocese, makes the total amount to 9285 (*First and Second Douai Diaries*, ed. Knox, p. 93 f.). And there were of course a number of non-parochial clergy. But it is clear that there had long been a certain scarcity of clergy: it was in fact a deplorable and inevitable result of the Reformation changes.

Cardinal Allen only reckoned their number at about 250[1]. Doubtless in many cases the oath was not tendered; for the bark of the English law was often worse than its bite. And where clergy were known to be loyal-minded and hard-working men, we may be sure that those who had the administration of the oath would be glad not to put a stumbling-block in their way[2]. With the Bishops the case was different; clearly it was impossible to avoid tendering

[1] The former number is given by Camden (*Annals* p. 28, ed. MDCXXX; he includes fourteen bishops but excludes Feckenham), and is followed by Heylin and others; the latter by Cardinal Allen and Dr Bridgewater, following Sanders (Simpson, *Life of Campion* 523). Attempts have been made in recent years to show that the number was far greater. But they are generally based on insufficient assumptions; e.g. 1) that the returns of the Visitation of 1559 are complete, and that all the clergy who are not mentioned as having attended either refused the oath or "would have done so had it been tendered"; and (2) that the scarcity of clergy during the early part of Elizabeth's reign was a new thing. The subject has been re-examined in detail by the Rev. H. Gee, who kindly informs me that the result of his work (contained in a volume forthcoming from the Clarendon Press) is to show that "the clergy deprived from *all* causes between 1558 and 1564 were about 400. This number has to be reduced for various reasons which I have given, and it is hard to believe that more than 200 were deprived for papal sympathies in the *first six years* of Elizabeth."

[2] See Parker's instructions to his suffragans in the Appendix, No. VII.

the oath to them. But, as we have seen, they had by this time become imbued with the new ultramontane ideas, and could now only think of the repudiation of papal jurisdiction as a breach of the unity of the Church. They accordingly refused, with two exceptions[1], to take the oath. This, however, was not so serious as it otherwise might have been; for ten sees were vacant by death, and other of Mary's Bishops had been placed in sees from which the Bishops had been wrongly ousted. So that, out of the fifteen in all who refused the oaths and were deprived, only a very few were canonically in possession of their dioceses[2]. A new Archbishop of Canterbury

[1] Viz. Kitchin of Llandaff, and Thomas Stanley of Sodor and Man. The latter had been appointed by papal provision of June 21, 1555 (Brady, *Episcopal Succession* ii. 303), although his predecessor Henry Man did not die till Oct. 19, 1556. Brady wrongly gives Oct. 19, 1556, as the date of Stanley's death, and calls him "the last Catholic Bishop of Sodor" (i. 109). But he was instituted to North Meols in 1557, and to Wigan on Aug. 9, 1558, still holding his bishopric; and he continued to do so until his death, probably in March, 1568–9 (Bridgeman, *History of Wigan* pp. 131–141, Chetham Society; Moore, *Dioc. Hist. of Sodor and Man* 138 f.). All this is perfectly certain; and it follows therefore that he never refused the oath. Either it was never tendered, or else, which is far more likely, he took it when tendered to him.

[2] See J. W. Lea, *Spiritual Jurisdiction*. Only five of the

was accordingly consecrated in the place of Pole by four of the prelates formerly extruded, the vacant sees were filled, and the Church of England passed on her way after a crisis which was serious indeed, but far less serious than that which occurred in France in 1801, when all the French Bishops were deposed, and the old sees abolished and new sees created [1].

IV.

And thus the greatly dwindled papal party found itself defeated in the Church, but not, be it observed, driven from the communion of the Church. The clergy who rejected the Oath of Supremacy or refused the Book of Common Prayer were of course removed from their benefices, for they could no longer fulfil the duties incumbent upon them. And a considerable number resigned of their own accord subsequently, especially after the English services had been condemned at Trent. But this was all; there was nothing to drive them, still less to drive the laity, out of the Church. And at first indeed they did not attempt to form themselves into a society, nor to con-

deprived Bishops were, by his reckoning, in canonical possession of their sees (Table VI).

[1] See p. 36.

tinue a succession of clergy; nor did they make any claim to be the true representatives of the English Church. They were simply Englishmen who had broken the laws of the nation on conscientious grounds and paid the penalty; English Churchmen who were unable to conform to the services and discipline of the Church; *nonconformist* members of that Church, as they would afterwards have been called. It takes more than this to make a schism; and had this been all we might have had peace before long. When men do not start a new organization, experience soon teaches what is vital and what is not. Individual aspirations gradually find satisfaction in the realization of the society; and the religious convictions of individuals must inevitably have their effect in shaping the life of that society, so far as they are true and permanent.

But unfortunately this was not all. Although they made no formal separation from the Church, some of these nonconformist members of the English Church seem to have met together for worship almost from the first [1].

[1] Sanders, *De Schismate Anglicana* lib. iv. c. 4, and Allen's letter to Vendeville, Sept. 16, 1578 (*First and Second Douai Diaries* p. xxiii f.).

For whilst a very large number unquestionably remained in the communion of the Church, although they could not approve of all that they found there, others, apparently, began to procure that Mass should be said privately. At first, no doubt, this was done according to the old Latin rite of England, but before long according to the Roman rite which had never been current in England at all [1].

A further change took place in the year 1562, when the Council of Trent declared attendance at the services of the English Church to be absolutely sinful [2], a declaration which, whether it was promulgated in England or not, obviously altered the whole position of those who conformed. Still, negotiations con-

[1] See the Appendix, No. VIII.

[2] More, *Hist. Prov. Anglic. S. J.* lib. iii. § 6-9. The decree is said to have been procured by Derbyshire (or Darbishire), formerly Dean of St Paul's (Tierney's *Dodd* vol. iii. p. 37). "The decision was confirmed by St Pius V in 1566, and Dr Harding and Dr Sanders were sent over to publish it afresh; it was solemnly recognized in a council of priests, convened by Parsons and Campion in July, 1580; again promulgated by Cardinal Toletus, June 14, 1581; enforced in a circular of Dr Allen, written by the Pope's direction, in 1592, and finally confirmed by Paul V in a Brief addressed to the English Catholics in September, 1606" (Simpson, *Life of Campion* p. 25; cf. p. 203 f.). All this is enough to show how little the decree was observed at first.

tinued between the ambassadors of the Queen and the papal legates; and it is not improbable, though it cannot be said to be proved, that an offer was made to recognize the English Prayer Book, provided that we would accept the Pope's jurisdiction [1].

V.

But at length, 1569–70, there happened an event which put a final stop to all negotiations. On February 25 the Pope (Pius V) signed a Bull against Elizabeth [2] by which she and all her adherents are declared to have incurred sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the Body of Christ. She is accordingly deprived of her crown; all her people are forbidden to obey her laws, and all who shall do so are to incur a like anathema. The Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* was brought into England, and on the morning of May 15, 1570, it was found to have been affixed to the gate of the Bishop of London's Palace in St Paul's Churchyard by a man named Felton, who was put to death as a traitor.

It will be seen at once how far-reaching

[1] See D. Morris, *Pope Pius IV and the Book of Common Prayer* (Church Historical Society, No. LIX).

[2] It is given in the Appendix, No. IX.

were the effects of this document. By it the sister Church of Rome had committed the most unsisterly act that could be imagined against the English Church, enticing away her sons and daughters from their allegiance, and setting up altar against altar in England. The papal schism in England was now an accomplished fact, since the Pope had commanded those who adhered to him to separate themselves from the English Church. In order to do so, however, it was, of course, necessary to unchurch us: for by hypothesis, if we are the Catholic Church in England, such an act is null and void from the beginning. This accordingly was done, and thus Pius V shamelessly excommunicated not the Church of England, but simply those who adhered loyally to their natural sovereign. From this date[1] the Catholic Church of England has had to deal with renegades from her own household, striving to proselytize her children. And they are doing this with the support of a part of the Catholic Church which had no quarrel with us but that we had abolished an intrusive jurisdiction which could never have come into

[1] A smaller secession from the Church, in another direction, had indeed taken place some four years before. See Lecture IV, pp. 169, 178.

being according to the principles of ancient days. We can only be thankful that they do it, in part at least, in ignorance; otherwise it would be too terrible to contemplate.

VI.

This is a convenient opportunity to stop and speak of the relations which existed between the two Churches. It is often stated that the English Church had broken off communion with the Roman. The statement is not true; and in order that we may see how far it is from the truth, it may be well to trace in detail the steps which had actually been taken.

(*a*) The jurisdiction of the Pope in England had been abolished. Now even had this been done wrongfully, it would not involve a breach of communion, properly speaking. But as a matter of fact it was, as we have seen, a return to the old order. "The Bishop of Rome hath no more authority in this realm given him by God than any other Bishop." Accordingly, his usurped authority was abolished in perfectly lawful ways; but this no more involved breaking communion with him than with "any other Bishop."

(*b*) Then followed, in 1538, the excommuni-

cation of Henry VIII: but this did not involve his subjects or the English Church: so that Rome had not formally broken off communion with us yet.

(*c*) Again, in 1555 the English nation was absolved by Cardinal Pole and "restored to the communion of Holy Church." But the fact remains that there had, as yet, been no breach on either side; still less had we left the communion of Holy Church.

(*d*) No doubt there was plenty of strong language and much ill-feeling on the part of individuals on both sides. At a time when we were fighting, as it might seem, for all we held most dear, it is not altogether to be wondered at that in the first English Litany there was inserted a suffrage

> "... From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities ....
> Good Lord, deliver us[1]."

But when the danger died away this was soon removed; and even in the time of greatest stress we never broke communion, or desired to do so, with the Roman or any other Church. The best of the doctrinal manuals of the Church in Henry's reign, the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian*

[1] See Additional Note B, p. 96.

Man, declares that "the church of Corinth and of Ephese were one church in God, though the one were far distant in place from the other: and though also in traditions, opinions, and policies there was some diversity amongst them, likewise as the church of England, Spain, Italy, and Poole [Poland] be not separate from the unity, but be one church of God[1]." The Act by which communion in one kind is abolished declares that this is done "not condemning hereby the usage of any Church outside of the King's Majesty's dominions[2]"; whilst the thirtieth of the Canons of 1604 speaks as follows: "Nay, so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such-like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that . . . it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endamage the Church of God nor offend the minds of sober men, and only departeth from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity and from the Apostolical Churches which were their first founders."

[1] Cardwell, *Formularies of Faith* p. 246 f.
[2] 1 Edward VI c. 1.

(*e*) From this position we have never at any time withdrawn; and to this day there is nothing whatever on our side, so far as I am aware, to prevent any foreign Catholic making his communion at our altars provided that he has been baptized and confirmed.

(*f*) In other words, and we ought never to forget the fact, the Roman Church has broken communion with us, not we with it[1]; and it did so when Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth and all her subjects who would not betray their duty to their country.

VII.

Nor is this all. Not only had the Romanist sect come into existence, but its members of necessity seemed to be implicated in treason now, since the Pope had commanded them to withdraw from their allegiance. Their very existence might seem like a menace to the Crown. Moreover, the revolt in the North in 1569–70 on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots, whilst it really had nothing whatever to do with the publication of the Bull[2], had yet the

[1] See Additional Note C, p. 97.

[2] The Bull was not signed till February 25, 1570, when the revolt was already over. It seems clear however that the plans of the rebels were known and approved

effect of creating suspicion against them. However the missile might appear to those who had discharged it from a safe distance on the Continent, it had clearly made the position of the English Romanists a very hard one. They were, in general, utterly dismayed by it [1]. They obeyed it, as a rule, so far as to withdraw from the English services; but the greater number of them simply disregarded altogether the command to withdraw their allegiance [2]. The Bull had really strengthened the Queen and weakened the Papacy [3]. And when

in Rome. See the evidence given in Tierney's *Dodd* vol. iii. p. 12 *n.*

[1] See Additional Note D, p. 97.

[2] See Sanders, *De Schism. Angl.* lib. iv. c. 9; Mr Simpson (*Life of Campion* 88) says that they treated it "as a dead letter." Ultimately the sovereign pontiff, Gregory XIII, made a virtue of necessity and modified the Bull, so far at least as to dispense the Romanists from observing it, whilst it still continued in force against Elizabeth and all who adhered to her. The instrument by which this was done, together with a quotation showing what advantage was taken of it by the Jesuit Father Gerard, is given in the Appendix, No. X. Even this, however, was done at the desire of Parsons and Campion, and rather in the hope of helping the "Mission," than of meeting the views of those Romanists who were loyal to Elizabeth.

[3] According to Mr Simpson (*Life of Campion* 88 f.), most thinking people of the time saw that "Paul III and St Pius V sacrificed the Church of this country to their desire of maintaining in their integrity all the temporal prerogatives exercised or claimed by their predecessors,

Elizabeth needed a Lord High Admiral to lead her ships against the invasion of the Spanish Armada (which was blessed by the Pope and openly supported by Cardinal Allen [1], and by Parsons and other English Jesuits), she found one in the loyal Lord Howard of Effingham, himself a devoted Roman Catholic.

Meanwhile, whatever might be said of English Papists, it was clear that every Papist who came from abroad was the emissary of

and that if they had frankly relinquished that temporal suzerainty which was the chief ground of the hesitation of their adherents, they would have given confidence to their friends, and disarmed their merely political foes. As affairs were managed, they rendered simply impossible the coexistence of the government of Henry VIII and Elizabeth with the obedience of their subjects to the supreme authority of the Pope; and these princes had no choice but to abdicate, with the hope of receiving back their crowns, like King John, from the papal legate, or to hold their own in spite of the Popes, and in direct and avowed hostility to them."

[1] Cardinal Allen published an *Admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland, concerninge the present warres, made for the execution of his holines' sentence, by the highe and mighte Kinge Catholicke of Spaine:* and the substance of this was reproduced in a broadsheet *Declaration of the sentence of Deposition of Elizabeth, the usurper and pretensed Quene of England.* (Tierney's *Dodd* iii. 29 *n.*). The latter is given in the Appendix, No. XI. For Parsons, see Tierney's *Dodd* iii. pp. 30 *n.*, lix f.; and for Sanders, see his letter inciting the Irish Roman Catholics to rebel; Strype's *Parker* App. p. 119.

the most deadly foe to the English crown. What then was England to do? Obviously things could not be left in this state. Elizabeth made every effort to obtain the recall of the Bull, and when this failed, there seemed to be nothing left but to frustrate the machinations of papal agents by means of legislation. Accordingly, in 1571 there were passed two Treason Acts of the most stringent character [1]. By the first it was made treason to deny the Queen's title to the throne, or to publish that she was a heretic, infidel, or schismatic; and by the second it was made treason to sue for, obtain, or put into use any bull, writing, or instrument from the Bishop of Rome, or absolve, or be absolved in virtue of such instruments; whilst the penalties of a *praemunire* were incurred by all who should aid or harbour them, or receive any *Agnus Dei*, or crosses, or pictures, or beads which had been blessed by him. Other Acts followed afterwards [2].

No doubt these are very severe and very terrible: but what else could have been done? It is hard to see what other reply could have

[1] Statutes 13 Eliz. cc. 1, 2.

[2] An account of Elizabeth's subsequent legislation against Romanists is given in the Appendix, No. XII.

been made in that age to the Bull and to all the evils which it had called forth. So that to speak as people sometimes do about the terrors of this penal legislation, without remembering what had given rise to it, is as ridiculous as to blame the cruelty of the legislation against "dynamitards," and make no account of their crimes [1].

Nor were the Acts allowed to remain a dead letter. They were soon brought into operation; with much of connivance in the case of people who were living quietly in England [2], but with the utmost rigour in the case of foreign priests. For every foreign priest was a popish emissary, and therefore a participator in treason.

VIII.

And before long there was a large and enthusiastic band of such priests ready to

[1] The legislation against English Romanists was temperately explained and justified by Lord Bacon, on the ground of its necessity. See the Appendix, No. XIII; and compare the tract issued by order of Burleigh, *The Execution of Justice in England not for Religion, but for Treason* (reprinted in Gibson, *Preservative* vol. xvii. p. 48 f., ed. Cumming); and Bp Andrewes, *Tortura Torti* pp. 152–4 (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology).

[2] See for example a protestation drawn up by Archbishop Parker to be made by English Romanists: it is given in the Appendix, No. XIV.

cross into England. For although England was lost to the Papacy, there was a strong desire felt for its recovery in the papal Curia; and amongst the papist clergy who had left England on the accession of Elizabeth, believing that their country was lost to the faith, there was a strong and highly praiseworthy desire felt for its "re-conversion." Foremost amongst them was Dr (afterwards Cardinal) William Allen, a zealous and pious man, who had been Principal of St Mary Hall at Oxford and Canon of York. He left England on Elizabeth's accession; but returned again in 1562 for the benefit of his health. Here he remained for three years, which he spent in zealous intrigue amongst those who were disaffected in religion. Then he returned to the Continent; and at length, between him and Dr Vendeville, then Professor of Canon Law in the University of Douai, the plan was matured for the formation of a college on the Continent, where men of his own party might be trained for the work of the mission. He therefore established himself at Douai, and there, in 1568, founded his seminary for English secular priests[1]. So great was its success that eight years after its foundation there

[1] *First and Second Douai Diaries* pp. xxii–xxvi.

were (for a short time) one hundred and twenty students in residence[1]; and three years later, in 1579, another seminary on similar lines was opened at Rome by Pope Gregory XIII[2]. Nor were the seculars alone in this work; the regulars, and above all the Jesuit Society, joined them. The latter was a young order, full of zeal, and specially devoted to what may be called works of "Church extension"; so that the new mission had all possible attractions for them.

Now it must be observed that this was quite definitely a new start—in no sense a continuation of an older work[3]. Writing to

[1] The numbers are given in the *First and Second Douai Diaries*. At Ascension 1576, there were eighty English students in the Seminary and 160 in the whole University (p. 303); by Michaelmas the number had risen to about 120 (pp. 105, 112, 303); by New Year's Day 1577, it had sunk to forty-two, owing to the harsh treatment to which they were subjected by the townsfolk (p. 303). In 1577 it arose again gradually to seventy (pp. 119, 122, 126, 130-132; but in Lent 1578, the English students were expelled and went to Reims, whence they did not return to Douai till 1593. At Reims, down to 1580, their number had not risen above sixty six (pp. 141, 152, 160, 162).

[2] Tierney's *Dodd* ii. 169 and note. The Bull by which it was founded is given at p. cccxxxvii.

[3] There is indeed in the Vatican archives (see Brady, *Episcopal Succession* ii. 323 f.) a paper, evidently from England, and apparently of the year 1560, containing sug-

Pope Gregory XIII in 1580, Bishop Goldwell (formerly of St Asaph) says, "God has given your Holiness grace, as it were, to plant anew and support the Catholic faith in that kingdom[1]." Goldwell was very anxious that a Bishop or Bishops should be sent into England to take charge of the work[2]. But this, for

gestions with regard to the English sees. Heath, now in prison, is suggested for translation to Canterbury, Watson to York, Scot to Durham, and so on for the other sees. From another paper, by Cardinal Morone, it appears that the matter was placed in his hands for consideration. He suggested, amongst other things, that the new Bishops to be chosen should repair to the Council of Trent. But here the matter ended; and the plan for a spurious English hierarchy went no further.

Dr Allen, indeed, gave as one of the reasons for the foundation of the seminaries, "Secondly, doubting the time of our chastisement might be so long, as to wear out, either by age, imprisonment, or other miseries, the elder sort of learned catholics, both at home and abroad, it was thought a necessary duty for the posterity to provide for a perpetual seed and supply of catholics, namely, of the clergy: nothing mistrusting but that times and opportunities would come (were they near, were they far off), when they might take advantage for restitution" (*Apology for the English Seminaries* p. 21). But to provide for a possible future hierarchy is a very different thing from continuing one which actually exists.

[1] Theiner, *Ann. Eccl.* iii. p. 700. It is translated in Simpson's *Life of Campion* p. 198 (ed. 1896).

[2] Parsons had written to Dr Agazzari, the rector of the English College at Rome in 1580, to the same effect (Tierney's *Dodd* iii. p. 47, note 1)

whatever reason, was not done. For over fifty years the mission was under the control (or rather beyond the control) of archpriests: then for some sixty-five years (1623–1688) it was under one Vicar Apostolic, although for thirty years out of that period (1655–1685) the vicariate was vacant; then for one hundred and fifty-two years (1688–1840) it was under four Vicars; then for ten years (1840–1850) under eight Vicars; and at length in 1850 a titular hierarchy was created by Pope Pius IX. So that as the "mission" was created by Pope Gregory XIII. the "Church" was created, as some Roman Catholic writers have themselves declared, by Pope Pius IX [1].

Naturally enough the danger which was attached to the Mission only increased its attractiveness to those who were so full of zeal and energy; and before long there was a great number of them in England. They were a good deal divided as to method: on the whole the seculars were less concerned in politics, and more straightforward and *English* in their proceedings. The Jesuits, on the other hand, have always made it their object to observe the times, and make use of political

[1] See the Appendix, No. XV.

emergencies; and in practice this means that they have often been involved in plotting and political scheming of a kind which has brought them into trouble. Between the two parties there were constant struggles; and any reader of Mr T. G. Law's *Seculars and Regulars under Queen Elizabeth*, or his collection of documents on *The Archpriest Controversy*, or Panzani's *Memoirs*, will find that the great rift amongst Roman Catholics in England which is revealed to us in the late Mr Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning* is no new thing, but has been there from the first.

Of course, directly the missioners came into England the Treason Acts were put into action against them. They were often able to evade their foes, but at length they were captured, and dealt with according to law. Cuthbert Mayne amongst the Secular clergy and Campion amongst the Jesuits are only single well-known individuals out of a great number; whilst what seemed far more terrible than the execution of the envoys from abroad was that of those good persons who, often out of simple compassion, had given them harbourage. It was harsh and cruel, no doubt; but still, with the Crown in danger, with no male heir and no heir in the direct line, with the

greater part of Europe either hostile or in a kind of unfriendly neutrality, what was to be done?

The method which was adopted was after the mind of the sixteenth century, not of the nineteenth. It was the using, or abusing if we will, of force in opposition to scheming; of a cruel weapon against a dangerous unseen foe. And it resulted in much ill-treatment and oppression to very many worthy and inoffensive people. But it is hard to see how anything else could have been done under the circumstances. And whatever else it may have been, it was political, not religious. Most certainly it was not religious persecution.

IX.

Such was the general condition of the penal laws down to 1829. During this whole period the general conduct of the bulk of English Papists was quite unimpeachable. England had no more loyal subjects than they: they were wonderfully patient under very considerable trials, and under laws which could be very galling at times. Still, it must not be supposed for one moment that the fact was anything like as severe as the theory of the law.

Everybody knew that the Papists, as a whole, were loyal subjects; and the laws were therefore generally administered with the greatest leniency. Indeed it would be true to say that they were hardly ever put into force in their full severity; and that for long periods together they were practically inoperative, excepting so far as concerned political disabilities [1].

Moreover, constant attempts were made to devise plans to free the English Romanists from the penal laws. And these were again and again defeated either because of some new interference of the Pope in English affairs [2], or because some of their number

[1] What was said by Bishop King of Derry, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, with regard to the state of the Irish papists at the beginning of the eighteenth century would be true of England, during a great part of both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. "If one should measure our temper by our laws, I think we are little short of the Inquisition: but if by the execution of them, I doubt we shall seem as indifferent in matters of religion as our neighbours in Holland: whereas soft laws and strict execution are what wisdom and interest would recommend to us."—In a letter to Bishop Burnet (H. Craik, *Life of Jonathan Swift* vol. i. p. 64).

[2] In 1600 Pope Clement VIII issued a Brief encouraging the Irish people in an insurrection against Elizabeth, and granting to them, if penitent and, as far as possible, fortified by the rites of the Church, "as full a pardon and remission of all their sins, as is commonly granted to those who are setting out to make war against the

were detected in plotting or were suspected of some secret underhand working. In particular, Englishmen were convinced, as they have been down to our own day, that secret proselytism was to be feared; and their anxiety on behalf of those whom

> "The grim wolf, with privy paw,
> Daily devours apace, and nothing said,"

restrained them more than once from giving a measure of much-needed justice to their brethren.

For instance, the accession of James I in 1603 introduced a period of great leniency for recusants. Then followed Jesuit plots, the Powder Plot amongst them [1]. The plots, not unnaturally, led to a period of severity; and some 5,600 persons are said to have been proceeded against for recusancy. The following year, however, James I devised an oath to be

Turk, or for the recovery of the Holy Land" (Collier, *Ecclesiastical History* vol. ix. p. 355, Records No. xcvii).

[1] There is of course no doubt whatever as to the reality of Gunpowder Plot. Those who have come across Fr Gerard's book on the subject, in which he tries to whittle away the evidence, should read also Dr S. R. Gardiner's *What Gunpowder Plot was*, in which it is restated with absolute conclusiveness. The two books form an admirable illustration of how history is *not* written, and how it *is* written.

taken by Roman Catholics as a guarantee of their loyalty [1], to the end that those who would take it should be exempted from the penal laws. The Archpriest Blackwell gave it his approval, and there appeared to be no longer any obstacle in the way, when the oath was condemned by Pope Paul V, and the whole thing fell through [2].

So things went on, more or less, throughout the seventeenth century, though the treatment grew continually more lenient on the whole. The latter years of Charles II were a period of Roman Catholic activity, and the Test Act [3] was devised as a special measure suited to the

[1] The oath is given in the Appendix, No. XVI. King James was most anxious that the oath should only deal with temporal matters. He tells us that when it was discussed in the Commons, a clause was inserted denying the authority of the Pope to excommunicate princes, which he at once caused to be struck out. "So carefull was I that nothing should be contained in this Oath, except the profession of natural Allegiance, and ciuil and temporall Obedience, with a promise to resist to all contrary vnciuill violence."—*Premonition to the Apologie* 9 (*Works* p. 292, ed. 1616 : quoted in Tierney's *Dodd* iv. 71 *n.*).

[2] The Brief of Paul V to the English Romanists, in which he forbids them to take the oath or resort to the English services, is given in Collier, *Ecclesiastical History* vol. ix. p. 365 ; Tierney's *Dodd* vol. iv. p. cxl.

[3] Stat. 25 Carol. II. c. 2.

occasion; although, be it observed, it was only a re-enacting of older penalties against recusants. The reign of James II was practically a period of freedom; whilst under William III new laws were enacted, some of which were of a peculiarly odious kind[1]. But it was becoming increasingly clear that the political element of recusancy was dying out; and after the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 it may be said to have disappeared altogether. The laws against recusancy might therefore have been abolished now, in the mass; but unfortunately prejudice was far too strongly enlisted on the other side for this to be likely or possible. Still, in 1757 a measure of relief was granted to the Irish Romanists; in 1779 some sections of the obnoxious Act of William III were repealed; and other Relief Acts followed by degrees[2].

[1] e.g. Stat. 1 Guil. & M. c. 9, "*An Act for the amoving Papists, and reputed Papists, from the Cities of London and Westminster, and ten Miles distance from the same*"; and 11 & 12 Guil. III. c. 4, "*An Act for the further preventing the Growth of Popery.*"

[2] The whole subject of the later legislation with regard to Roman Catholics is well treated in Sir Erskine May's (Lord Farnborough) *Constitutional History*, in the chapters on "The Church and Religious Liberty."

X.

At length, however, the English Romanists resolved to take steps on their own behalf, in order to obtain the removal of the disabilities under which they still lay; and in 1782 a strong committee of Romanists was formed to further the work. Through three of their number they approached the Prime Minister of the day, William Pitt the younger. At a meeting of the Committee on May 9, 1788, it was reported that the Prime Minister had put to them three questions: first, Has the Pope, or any other person in the Roman Church, any civil authority or jurisdiction whatsoever within the realm of England? secondly, Can he absolve or dispense subjects from their oath of allegiance upon any pretext whatsoever? and thirdly, Is there any principle of the "Catholic" faith which justifies the breaking of faith with heretics in any transaction, public or private?[1]

Now the persons to whom these questions were put must have known very well that many

[1] The questions and answers are given by Allen, *Protestation of the English Romanists* p. 24 (from Butler, *Memoirs of the English Catholics* ii 110).

teachers of repute in the Roman Communion had answered each of them in the affirmative. But instead of seeking the counsel of their ecclesiastical superiors, they sent the questions to five Universities of the Roman Communion, and in due course received the negative answers which were in accordance with their own views, and which they had doubtless hoped for[1].

But they seem to have felt that it was not enough to give their answer to these questions privately; so in the winter of 1788 they drew up their famous Protestation to the people of England, which, early in the following year, received the signature of all the most important English Romanists. In the course of this they made five very clear and striking statements, which did them all honour:—

1. "... We do solemnly declare that neither the Pope, either with or without a general council, nor any prelate, nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, can absolve the subjects of this realm, or any of them, from their allegiance to his majesty King George the Third, who is, by authority of Parliament, the lawful king of this realm."

[1] Allen, p. 26.

2. ". . . We believe that no act that is in itself immoral or dishonest can ever be justified by or under colour that it is done either for the good of the Church or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever. We acknowledge no infallibility in the Pope; and we neither apprehend nor believe that our disobedience to any such order or decrees (should any such be given or made) could subject us to any punishment whatever."

3. "We do solemnly declare that neither the Pope . . . nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, can absolve us, or any of us, from or dispense with the obligation of any compact or oath whatsoever."

4. ". . . We do solemnly declare that . . . we believe that no sin whatever can be forgiven at the will of any Pope, or of any priest, or of any person whomsoever; but that a sincere sorrow for past sin, a firm resolution to avoid future guilt, and every possible atonement to God and the injured neighbour, are the previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness."

5. "This doctrine, that faith is not to be kept with heretics, we reject, reprobate, and abhor, as being contrary to religion, morality, and common honesty."

And they end up with a solemn declaration that they "do make this declaration and protestation, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of the same, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever[1]."

Such is this most remarkable document, which does all possible honour to those who composed it and signed it. And it is to our shame as a nation that they had to wait yet forty years longer, before the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 swept away the last vestiges of their disabilities: unless indeed we count it one that a Roman Catholic may not be Lord Chancellor of England.

The Protestation was signed almost universally by the leading English Romanists[2]; including all four of the Vicars Apostolic. But it is surprising to find that in recent years a Jesuit writer, Father Amherst, has done his best to show that they only did so under protest, and apparently in a non-

[1] The Protestation has been reprinted in 1897 by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, with introduction and notes by the Rev. A. J. C. Allen.

[2] "With a very inconsiderable exception, the protestation was signed by all the catholic clergy and laity in England of any note."—Butler, *Memoirs of the English Catholics* ii. p. 122.

natural sense[1]. If this were the case, we could only regret what would make their conduct as reprehensible as it otherwise seems noble. But we cannot but think that Father Amherst, in his anxiety to show that English Romanism is the same as it was a hundred years ago, has unwittingly done a great injustice to the four Vicars Apostolic.

XI.

So much for one side of things. We cannot but respect a loyal body of men, who have clung so devotedly to what they consider, however mistakenly, to be the truth. However deplorable was the act which formed English Romanists into a sect, fidelity to a cause is always worthy of respect. Nor ought that respect to be greatly lessened by the fact that the cause is one which does not appeal to ourselves. A lost cause is almost always venerable; every man, I suppose, has felt a profound sympathy for the Jacobite risings at some time or other. How much greater are the lessons of devotion, of loyalty, of perseverance which this cause has to teach!

[1] Amherst, *History of Catholic Emancipation* vol. i. p. 164 (quoted in Allen, p. 62).

But there is another side to the question. The Roman Catholic body in England is not only old (that is, three centuries old), but it is the most daring of innovators both in discipline and in doctrine. The sect which seceded from us in the reign of Elizabeth has in our own day received an organization and a hierarchy from a great but hostile Church; thereby emphasizing indeed its alien character, but remaining the sect that it was before. From the same source it has derived many doctrinal novelties. Of course, when it came into existence by its secession from the English Church, there were already differences of doctrine, since the medieval accretions which we had cleared away were allowed by them to remain. But the differences are far more serious now; and a continually increasing list of innovations seems ever to be raising the barrier which separates them from primitive Christianity. The Creed of Pius IV, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the Infallibility of the Pope, these are, no doubt, the great landmarks: but they are not all. A growing tendency to allow the *minutiae* of pious opinion or popular cult to take the place of the verities of the faith in ordinary teaching is, perhaps, even more serious. And it is

hard to see how anything but a long-continued course of such teaching could render possible such a travesty of Christian doctrine as that which is contained in Leo XIII's recent Encyclical on the Rosary of Mary[1], to which attention has already been called in England[2].

And the Roman Catholic body in England is not only novel but persevering. We are living at a period when its clergy are making the greatest efforts to win converts, and when, according to their leaders, or rather their trumpet-bearers, they meet with no little success. It behoves us to be on our guard; to be more careful to understand our own position; to turn our eyes more upon our Lord, and less upon other people's theories about Him.

But we have not the slightest reason for alarm. This aggressive zeal for proselytizing is only what our fathers have borne in the days that were before us. From time to time there have been these periods of spasmodic activity, when alarmists have been alarmed

[1] The Authorized Translation is given in the *Tablet* for October 2, 1897. I have given extracts from this document in the Appendix, No. XVII.

[2] See the *Church Times* for October 8, 1897 (quoted in the Appendix, No. XVII).

and the timorous timid, and the unstable have sometimes fallen. So it was under Elizabeth, under Charles I, under James II, in the days of Gibson, in the days of Keble. None the less, they are the days which have helped to make the English Church. We have no reason to fear; for trial only proves the strength of our cause. The time of stress soon passes away: perhaps our greater danger is when it has passed, and we seem to be more secure.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

A (p. 54).

Bishop Gardiner's defence of the title *Supreme Head* was no mere temporary one. He still defended it in 1548 (see his sermon before Edward VI on June 20 in that year, in Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Pratt and Stoughton, vi. 87 f.; Parker MSS. cxxvii. 5), and in 1550 (Foxe, vi. 64, 81 f.).

On the whole subject of the title Supreme Head see my *Four Recent Pronouncements*, pp. 15 f. (Church Historical Society. No. LVI).

B (p. 72).

We may observe that the language of even the more extreme spirits gradually became

more moderate. See, for example, "Mr Fox's prayer after his Good Friday sermon at Paul's Cross about the year 1578" (Strype, *Annals* II. ii. 640 f): "And forasmuch as the bishop of Rome is wont this Good Friday, and every Good Friday, to accurse us, as *damned heretics*; we here curse not him but pray for him, that he with all his partakers either may be turned to a better truth, or else we pray thee, gracious Lord, that we may never agree with him in doctrine, and that he may so curse us still, and never bless us more, as he blessed us in queen Maries time."

C (p. 74).

This fact has always been recognized by accurate scholars in the English Church. See for example the excellent *Three Sermons* preached by Gloucester Ridley in 1745 at St Anne's, Limehouse (London, 1746), p. 30: "When the Church of *Rome* thrust us out from them, and cut us off from their Fellowship by horrid Anathema's, such Excommunication of theirs, though it separated and divided us from them, was certainly no Schism in us: It was *They* who made the rent, not *We*." As is well known, this is the theme of one of the greatest of Bramhall's works.

D (p. 75).

Philip of Spain wrote to his ambassador in England, Don Guerau de Spes, on June 3,

1570, "His Holiness has taken this step without communicating with me in any way, which certainly has greatly surprised me, because my knowledge of English affairs is such that I believe I could give a better opinion upon them, and the course that ought to have been adopted under the circumstances, than any one else."—*Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, Eliz. vol. ii. p. 254.

LECTURE III.

PURITANISM.

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PURITANISM.

No greater mistake could be made than to think that the work of the Reformation was complete when Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558; or when, in 1570, the bull of Pope Pius V was issued, by which he broke off communion with the English Church, and declared Elizabeth deposed, summoning all who were faithful to him to withdraw from her allegiance.

Had the Reformation consisted in nothing but pulling down, it would have been a bad day for us. All that had been done hitherto might have resulted in little but the loosening of obligations and the shattering of ideals. It is always easier to pull down than to build up, to uproot than to plant; and whilst all that is least spiritual finds satisfaction in the former process, the latter must be achieved, if at all, in spite of the tendencies to destructiveness in our nature. I have not attempted to overlook, nor ought we to disguise from

ourselves, the fact that many of the forces which combined to "break the bonds of Rome and set us free" were entirely or in part destructive. There were men who appear to have thought that the best way to get at the spirit of religion was to destroy its body, and that the true idea of worship could not be liberated until its form was annihilated. So far they had been, comparatively speaking, unimportant, because all the forces of English religious life had been more or less united in order to abolish what everybody allowed to be an abuse. Now, however, there was to be a trial of strength between the party of order and the parties of upheaval.

I say *parties* of upheaval, because we ought to discern two entirely distinct sections. There was, first, a party which recognized the Church as part of God's enduring order in the world, but desired to purify and to amend it in certain directions, because its constitution and character seemed to them to be, in one way or another, perverted and wrong. And secondly, there were those who conceived that the Church, as they saw it, was nothing but a worldly society, or indeed a synagogue of Satan. Their idea, accordingly, was to "come out of her," to start entirely afresh upon clear

ground, and to erect such a building upon this foundation as seemed to them to answer to the true scriptural conception of religion. The one desired to modify and cleanse, the other to destroy and rebuild; the one aimed at purifying what was in its fundamental nature a good thing, the other aimed at separating itself from what was fundamentally bad. The one did at least "discern the Body"; the other tried to create a body. The one is Puritanism, the other is Sectarianism.

I.

Puritanism is by its very nature opposed to Sectarianism. The Puritan never dreamt of thinking that anybody, Papist or Sectary, could form a new Church, for he knew that Christ had founded the Church[1]. The position of the Sectaries was therefore to him altogether detestable.

And yet in actual life Puritanism has often led to Sectarianism, so easily does the spirit of disunion prevail in men. For on the one hand, the party spirit of other men may lead them to regard Puritans as schismatics and to treat them accordingly; and those who are

[1] For Richard Baxter's very remarkable words on this point see the Appendix, No. XVIII.

treated as schismatics easily become schismatics. Whilst on the other hand, those who have begun with a desire to raise the standard of the Church may easily end by excluding from their conception of the Church those who will not accept their standard. And in more ages than one, for Puritanism is not a growth of any one age, each of these things has taken place. Still, when this has happened it has been in spite of their principles, not because of them. The proper position for those who think that there is something wrong in the state of the Church is within her communion, not without. And I cannot think that we should so frequently hear it said as we do, that those who dislike the services and proper order of the English Church should leave her communion, but for the fact that our conception of the unity of the Church is vitiated by the prevalence of the sectarianism which we see about us; which is itself, be it remembered, a growth of modern days. Even if men are unable to approve the laws prevalent in the Church at any particular time, their proper course is to remain within the Body of Christ. If they cannot conform to the discipline or rites of the Church, they should continue as non-conforming members of the Church.

And this is what the English Puritans long did, until at last some of them fell short of their own principles and ceased to be Puritans altogether, strictly speaking.

II.

The Puritan, then, was one who desired to purify the Church of Christ so as to bring it into accord with what he believed to be the mind of Christ. This however is obviously insufficient as a definition; for the same thing might be said of every good Christian from the first day until now. If this were all, it might appear that the difference between the Puritans and the great body of English Churchmen was one of degree only; that the latter wished to make only a certain number of changes, whilst the former were anxious for a far greater number. This was by no means the real difference between them.

We must again bear in mind that class names or party names of this kind are but labels, useful for their purpose, as designating the ruling tendency of the minds of particular groups of men, and no more than this; useful as aids to clear thinking, but that is all. We have not really said all that there is to be

said when we have placed people in this or that class. For after all, men are not divided off into sharply contrasted classes, but vary from one another by the most infinitesimal gradations. Bearing this in mind, however, I think that the difference between the Puritan ideal and what, for want of another name, I will call the Church ideal, was a difference of kind, not merely of degree. The good Churchman might wish to purify the members of the Church, but he would resist the tendency to base their membership upon anything that they had done: he might wish to reform the constitution of the Church, but no amount of realization that it fell short of what the Lord intends it to be would make him disloyal to God's Society.

I think that the real difference between Puritanism and Churchmanship lies in the two opposed, though complementary, conceptions of *holiness* which men may place before themselves. There are, as many of you well know, two special words for *holy* which are used in the Greek Scriptures; first, ὅσιος, which suggests the meaning of good in itself, undefiled, inherently good as we might say; and secondly, ἅγιος, the primary idea of which is *consecration*, that the person or thing of

which it is predicated is set apart for God, or placed in some special relation with Him[1]. Now a study of Holy Scripture, or of our own faith, will make it plain to us that the latter idea, that of consecration, is the primary idea for a Christian. Of course, it inevitably leads to and involves and includes the other, that of freedom from evil or impurity; but still, it is the thought of consecration which should be constantly in our minds, and which we ought to set before us as our aim.

For to aim at being good *in itself* is the way in which men have often not attained it. At any rate, growth in goodness involves in itself a growth in the realization of sin. The deeper we see into ourselves the more we realize our own lack of goodness; we begin to learn little by little that what others may see of good in us is not ours at all, but that it is imparted to us by One in virtue of a relation in which we stand to Him. We find out by experience that there is none good but one, that is, God. We learn, in fact, that we may be ὅσιος by virtue of being ἅγιος, but not *vice versa*.

[1] See Trench, *New Testament Synonyms* § lxxxviii. The other words which he gives, ἱερός and ἁγνός, do not concern us here.

As I have said, the idea of *consecration* is that which is most constantly kept before us in Holy Scripture. Aaron, the saint of the Lord, is such, not by virtue of what he has done for God, but of what God has done for him, in setting him apart for his office. Of course the other side should follow, for the priest of the Lord should be holy, unblameable, undefiled. Again, they to whom and of whom St Paul writes as "the saints" are such, not because of their good lives, though they ought to be, and are becoming, good, but because God has elected them out of mankind, and regenerated them in Holy Baptism.

Now according to the idea which we keep before our minds of holiness, of saintliness, is likely to be our conception of the Christian Society, and indeed of all life. If our persistent idea of holiness is goodness in itself, perfectness, (I do not mean mere morality,) then we are likely to be Puritans. If, on the other hand, the primary thought in our minds is that of consecration, of a special relation entered into with God through Christ, then we shall be Churchmen. The tendency of the Puritan was to lay the chief stress upon man's part in religion; the Churchman or Evan-

gelical—for here, we must remember, Puritanism is rather to be contrasted with a true Evangelicalism—puts first that which God has done for us. We may illustrate this by comparing the opening words of the English Church Catechism with those of the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly. The one begins (very lamely, as ignorant people sometimes think) with the question, "What is your Name?" But why? In order to impress upon us, first of all, what God has done for us. for each one of us individually, and for us all corporately. . . . "Wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven." The other, on the contrary, begins with the question, "What is the chief end of Man?" And the answer is, "Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy Him for ever[1]." The words are grand, almost sublime; but it will be observed that here a beginning is made with what we are to do for God[2]. That is the difference

[1] See *The Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechism* p. 167 (Edinburgh, 1683). The Larger Catechism begins in the same way, excepting that *and highest* follows *chief*, and *fully* precedes *to enjoy*.—*Ib.* p. 77.

[2] See A. W. Robinson, *The Church Catechism Explained* p. 14 f.

between true Churchmanship and Puritanism all the world over.

The Puritan, then, in the widest sense that can be given to the word, was one who desired so to hedge round the Church as to make or keep it pure. He would remove from it all features which could be looked upon as of a worldly origin and character; leaving it in some respects, we may fear, bare, austere, unlovely. He would set up all possible safeguards round its membership, even to the extent, sometimes, of leaving in it no room for the penitent sinners whose home it is. The Puritan aimed at making a pure Church, in the hope that this pure Church should be enabled to purify the world. It is obviously a noble ideal: but we cannot hide from ourselves that it is a partial one. If carried out to its logical conclusion it would only empty the Church altogether: short of this, it tends to result in the substitution of external goodness for real holiness. And we cannot but see that its whole ideal is a very different one from that which our Lord seems to set before us in so many of His parables—that of the Net, of the Wheat and Tares, and many more. Puritanism, when all is

said, is not the Gospel for a world of sinners.

III.

Still, if it is not a satisfying food, it is a very valuable medicine. At times when the Church seems to have learned the parable of the Wheat and the Tares upside down, so to speak—when men seem to acquiesce in some moral standard less than the highest, and to rest secure in the privileges of their position, instead of rising to a sense of its awful responsibilities—then it is that Puritanism does a valuable work. Its high moral enthusiasm and resolutely narrow exclusiveness are bracing in the extreme; its literal, almost slavish, interpretation of Holy Scripture at least serves to recall men from a far more heinous neglect of Holy Scripture; and it has a wonderful power of quickening and giving renewed vigour to ideals which have lost their attractiveness for ordinary men.

Accordingly there have been great Puritan movements in the Church from time to time, and doubtless there will be again, whenever men tend to become sunk in self-satisfaction or absorbed in formalism. The Montanist movement, for instance, especially in Africa,

had a strongly puritan side; Novatianism, with its rigorous treatment of the weaker brethren, was Puritanism pure and simple. The Donatists were another great puritan sect of early days; so were the Cathari of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries[1]. Not only so; the effort of Gregory VII to make a pure Church (or rather a pure hierarchy, for that was what he really meant) separate from the world and its influences, which should then proceed to con-

[1] Whitgift had noticed the resemblance between the Puritans of his day and those of earlier days: "I do firmly believe that only the books of the canonical scripture are of that absoluteness and perfection that nothing may be taken away from them, nothing added to them. I do not think the communion book . . . so perfect but that there may be both added to it, and taken from it. But this I say, that it is a godly book, without any error in substance of doctrine, and nothing in it (that I know, against the Word of God; and those imperfections, or rather motes, that you say to be in it, not to be such that any godly man ought to stir up any contention in the church for them, much less to make a schism, and least of all to divide himself from the church. This is my opinion of that book, which unless by learning and good authority I justify, let me have the blame and shame of it. I will not enter into your hearts, to judge what you think of your inward purity . . . that very perfection of an outward platform of a Church, which you challenge unto yourselves, is one step to Novatianism, and well deserveth the name of Catharism."– *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*; Whitgift's *Works* vol. i. p. 173 (Parker Society).

quer and rule the whole world in the name of God, was hardly less puritan in character than those which preceded and followed it. And the same thing must be said of the temper of many of our own non-juring divines, to say nothing of many rigorists at the present day.

IV.

It was inevitable that the formalism of the later Middle Ages, and the growing uniformity of the sixteenth century, should call forth a protest of the same kind. And it did so. The particular form which Puritanism took at the time of the Reformation was doubtless the result of causes peculiar to the time; but in its essential character there is no change. The sudden throwing open of the Scriptures to the lay people in their own tongue, which was one of the greatest and most glorious sides of the whole movement so far as it concerned the Teutonic peoples, gave it a new tone and a new direction. And in the Rhineland, in Switzerland, and the Low Countries, it found a congenial soil.

Thence it spread into England, together with much else that was continental in origin.

That it should have come was quite inevitable; for England had not yet learned to stand alone and see things from her own point of view. In the learning of this lesson has lain the secret of all her greatness. As part of Europe her position is but that of an insignificant outsider; one who is, and can be, merely on the outskirts of European life and thought. But the great secret which we have gradually learned from statesmen like Wolsey and churchmen like Laud is that Britain is an entity in herself; that she does her best work for the Church and for the world when she stands forth and realizes her own life.

This lesson however had not yet been learned. England had been so accustomed to look to the continent, in religious matters as well as civil, that the breach with Rome left us with a sense of isolation and instability: and men naturally turned their eyes to those who were so far at least on common ground with us, in that, like us, they had broken the bonds of Rome. And the result was that Englishmen looked up to foreign leaders, and absorbed foreign notions in religion, in a way which, whilst it did not really touch our ecclesiastical position, and left no bad effects

in the final Reformation settlement, none the less vitiated much of English popular theology for centuries.

V.

Puritanism then, as we knew it in England, included a rigid attempt to restrict the limits of Church membership, an austere desire to cut off all in the Church or her services which appealed to the artistic or aesthetic in man, a steadfast resolve to remove from the Church everything that was not based upon the explicit language of Holy Scripture, and a most stern and unflinching Calvinism in doctrine. With the Puritan, the sovereignty of God was the fundamental fact which must be held to interpret His justice, His mercy, His love, and everything else; so far did they push one side of the truth to the neglect of all others. To them the words of Robert Browning—

"Thou hast no power, nor may'st conceive of mine:
But love I gave thee—[1],"

[1] In *An Epistle containing the strange medical experience of Karshish:—*

"O heart I made, a heart beats here!
Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself!
Thou hast no power, nor may'st conceive of mine:
But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
And thou must love me who have died for thee."

would have been wellnigh meaningless. God's power was, to the Calvinist, the key to all the rest. His will was thought of in such a way as to make any real freewill on our part an impossibility; and, in accordance with their doctrine of the sovereignty of God, the doctrine of the Atonement was debased into a formal transaction which, in its popular form, was often of the most odious kind. To these stern preachers of righteousness "the most comfortable doctrine of predestination" to eternal life left them little room to think of its other side; for so far as I have observed, Calvinists, like other men, regard as a subject of religious mania one who thinks that he is foreknown to condemnation.

We must of course remember, however, that Calvinism and Puritanism are not convertible terms. Most if not all of the writers of the earlier half of Elizabeth's reign were more or less pronouncedly Calvinistic, however much they might be opposed to Puritanism. And when, in the latter part of the century, John Baro and Overall, Andrewes and Bancroft, began to preach the Catholic doctrine that Christ died for all men, they were hailed as the teachers of a novel heresy.

But in spite of many somewhat unlovely

characteristics, the Puritan rises to splendour by virtue of his reality and his earnestness. His magnificent sense of the reality of spiritual things, his consciousness of the presence of God, and his resolute preaching of righteousness, had for many minds a wonderfully effective power. Above all, his heart was often warmer than his creed; and I am sometimes tempted to wonder of what stuff we are made that the thought of God's wrath so often produced such far finer men than does the thought of God's all-embracing love.

We can discern some of the elements of Puritanism in England before the Reformation itself. In certain of the Wyclifite tracts, for example, though perhaps not in the English writings of Wyclif himself [1], and certainly not in his Latin writings, so far as I am aware, we find statements to the effect that there should be nothing in the Church which was not based upon the express words of Holy Scripture. It is not till the reign of Edward VI, however, that it really gained any hold upon English life. And when this happened, it was due to the frequent intercourse with

[1] See Appendix, No. XIX.

Geneva and Strassburg, and the presence in England of foreign teachers, as for instance at the Universities. Bishop Hooper of Gloucester, who so strenuously held out against being consecrated in the accustomed vestments and with the accustomed rites, is sometimes called the first English Puritan, and the description is far from an inapposite one. But it was the reign of Mary which really brought Puritanism into English Church life.

We have already observed that a considerable number of English clergy and laity—the number has been estimated as high as eight hundred, first and last[1]—had fled to the continent when Mary came to the throne. Naturally, those who did so were the most extreme and most violent amongst them. Moreover, they were only able to take up their abode in such places as would give them hospitality[2],

[1] See the anonymous *Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort A. D. 1554*, Strype's *Cranmer* book iii. c. 15, and Fuller's *Church History* book viii. sect. 2, 3. By far the best modern account is in Dixon, *History of the Church of England* vol. iv. p. 684 f. The exiles included the Bishops of Winchester (Poynet), Bath (Barlow), Chichester (Scory), Exeter (Coverdale), and Ossory (Bale).

[2] Fuller gives (vol. iv. p. 205 f., ed. Brewer) a list of the places in which they settled, and concludes as follows:—"If these congregations be compared together, Embden will be found the richest for substance; Wesel the short-

and therefore were brought into somewhat close relations with the foreign reformers. And although the greater number of them still continued to worship as they had been accustomed in England, some conformed themselves not a little to the ideas and customs of those who were giving them shelter. The result was that presently the exiles were troubled by an outbreak of disorder. For whilst those at Zurich and Strassburg, and most of the other places, had continued to use the Prayer Book in their services, those who were at Frankfort had given it up, together with such usages as naturally accompanied it. The contention was very sharp between them and their brethren, some even holding that the use of a formal liturgy was not lawful, as being contrary to Holy Scripture. Here however even the foreigners were against them. For although Bucer, when consulted about the Prayer Book in the previous reign, had found many faults, saying, amongst more serious things, that he did not see why men should wear a square cap who had not been provided with a square head, yet

est for continuance; Arrow the slenderest for number; Strasburgh of the most quiet temper; Zurich had the greatest scholars; and Frankfort had the largest privileges."

at the same time the book as a whole had his approval[1]. And when Calvin was consulted on the subject, although he was of the opinion that the book contained popish dregs and tolerable fooleries[2], he none the less declared that it contained no manifest impiety, and therefore might lawfully be used until something better and purer should be put forth[3].

VI.

When these "exiles for religion" came back to England on the accession of Elizabeth, there were clearly troubles brewing. And the Act of Uniformity, which made the use of the Book of Common Prayer obligatory, was directed at least as much against them as against those who were popishly inclined. It takes a little thought to realize how strong the puritan party in the Church really was; but perhaps we may see it best from what

[1] In his *Censura super Libro Sacrorum in Regno Angliae*. "The contents and order of the Daily Prayers and of the Communion Service," he says, "are entirely scriptural and primitive."

[2] Or, more accurately, "absurdities that might be borne with,"—*tolerabiles ineptiae*.

[3] His answer is given in the *Troubles of Frankfort* p. 64 (reprinted in the *Phoenix* vol. ii).

happened in the Convocation of Canterbury in 1563. In that year a petition to the Bishops was introduced in the Lower House for the simplification of the services of the Church. The proposed changes were: that saints' days should be abolished; that the minister should turn to the people throughout the service; that the sign of the cross in Baptism should be disused, and kneeling to receive the Blessed Eucharist should be made optional; that the surplice alone should suffice for all ministrations[1]; and that organs should be abolished.

Now it must be observed that even if the petition had been sent up to the Bishops, and even if they had acted upon it, it would in no way have touched the truth or the reality of the English Church. A great deal of nonsense is often talked about things of this kind, as if "Catholic privileges" consisted in lighted candles and beautiful vestments and sweet smells, instead of in the full and free sharing in the sacramental life of the Church. No doubt, the beauty and dignity of the services of the Church is the natural outcome of all that she is; but nevertheless loyal-

[1] Hitherto the old vestments were undoubtedly directed to be used.

hearted men might easily think, and very probably did, that for the sake of peace some things might be left as optional for the present. And as a matter of fact, partly owing to this and partly owing to the strength of the puritan section of the Church, the proposed petition was thrown out by a majority of one vote only [1].

But when once this had been settled, obviously it must be carried out. Clergymen could not be permitted to follow an ideal of their own discovery to the neglect of the clearly expressed mind of the Church; unless they could conform, they must leave their benefices. In all this there was no hardship, nor was there any giving of undue prominence to trifles. The question was whether there was to be any order at all: for a paper drawn up in 1564 by Sir William Cecil (himself of puritan leanings) is enough to show how absolutely lacking it had hitherto been [2].

[1] The Articles, together with the debate upon them and the names of those who voted for and against them, are printed by Burnet, from the records of Convocation as transcribed by W. Petyt. Burnet, *History of the Reformation* Part iii. book vi. no. 74: vol. vi. p. 480, ed. Pocock). I have given the Articles in full in the Appendix, No. XX.

[2] See Strype's *Parker* book ii. chap. 19 (p. 153); it is reprinted in the Appendix, No. XXI.

Obviously, men could not be allowed to follow their own devices in everything; and least of all could the sixteenth century imagine such a thing. Much might no doubt be left to the individual minister; but the definite direction of the Church must be obeyed. Archbishop Parker protested, in what was probably the last letter that he ever wrote [1], that he cared not for the vestments but for the law of the Church [2]; and in this he fairly represents the mind of the other Bishops [3]. We may acknowledge that the methods used were sometimes harsh,

[1] It is dated April 11. [1575]; and Parker died on May 17, 1575. The letter opens: "*Domini vim patior, responde pro me.* I trust that this shall be one of the last letters which I shall write unto your lordship, the rather for that I am now stricken with mine old disease more sharply than ever I was. It may be, that whereas I have a great while provided for death, yet God will peradventure have me continue a while to exercise myself in these contemplations of grief; *Domini voluntas fiat.*"

[2] Parker to Burleigh, *Correspondence of Archbishop Parker* p. 477 f.; Strype's *Parker* book iv. chap. 43 (p. 492): "Doth your lordship think that I care either for cap, tippet, surplice, or wafer-bread, or any such? But for the laws so established I esteem them."

[3] See the letter of Bishops Grindal and Horn, neither of whom liked the ceremonies, to Bullinger and Gualter, February 6, 1567 (*Letters from the Archives of Zurich* p. 273 f.). It is given in the Appendix, No. XXII. Beza strongly advised the Puritans to consent to use the habits.—Strype's *Parker* p. 243.

and that the motives of those who used them were not always pure (for we know our own mixed methods), and that there was not always the sympathetic handling which Whitgift[1] and Andrewes knew how to give; but as to the main question there can surely be no doubt that the Bishops were in the right.

And moreover it was in the course of this struggle, against what from their point of view was mere lawlessness, that their own position gradually became clearer. What had been at first almost instinctive became by degrees reasoned and resolved; and at length the Church knew her own mind. The realized necessity for a logical statement led Richard Hooker to formulate his great exposition of our principles. Reverence for Catholic antiquity led gradually, as it always does, to a fuller realization of the mind of the Church; and Overall, Bilson, Bancroft, Andrewes, and

[1] "Being made Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and of the privy Councel, he carried him self in that mild, and charitable course, that he was not onely approved greatly, by all the Clergy of *England*, but even some of those, whom with his pen he might seem to have wounded; I mean these called *Puritans*, of whom he won divers by sweet perswasions to conformity. In the Star-Chamber, he used to deliver his sentence in good fashion, ever leaning to the milder censure as best became his Calling."—Harington, *Nugæ Antiquæ* vol. i. p. 9, ed. 1779.

many more, delivered us from the Calvinism which had crept into England, and laid open those principles upon which our fathers in God had already been acting; whilst Archbishop Laud clinched the whole work by checking once and for all the destructive tendencies within the Church, and placed before us an ideal of vigorous Church life which has never really been lost since.

VII.

We can trace the stages in the developement of the puritan [1] position; for of course it grew, as such things always must. To nourish our scruples is in the long run to put an end to our common life.

(*a*) They began with a simple claim that things in themselves indifferent should not be enforced on any. This claim was rejected, as we have seen; and when called upon to conform to the laws of the Church and perform these acts "in themselves indifferent," they felt themselves unable conscientiously to obey.

[1] I do not know when the name was first applied to them. A letter of Sandys to Gualter, dated Dec. 9, 1579, speaks of "these new men, whom we call Puritans."—*Zurich Letters* Series I. No. 134.

(*b*) Obviously such a position could not be final. If the things were indifferent, they were surely bound to obey the law of the Church. Nonconformity on account of things which were confessedly indifferent clearly needed some further justification. And so the Puritans gradually drifted towards their second position, viz. that nothing is lawful in the services or discipline of the Church unless it be prescribed in Holy Scripture. This involved an outbreak against all ceremonies, and also, as it seemed to them, against the discipline of the Church. Accordingly, in the *First and Second Admonitions to Parliament* drawn up in 1572 under the supervision of Thomas Cartwright, lately Lady Margaret's Reader in Divinity at Cambridge, an attack was made upon the whole system of the Church, and in particular upon the Bishops. It was an attack the like of which, for directness and violence, had never been seen before. The book was answered paragraph by paragraph by Whitgift, then Dean of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who completely demolished its arguments. As against the contention of Cartwright and his fellows that the Bible was to be regarded as the sole rule of all

Church life, and that everything is to be rejected as illegal which is not contained in Holy Scripture[1], Whitgift replied that the details of Church government are matters for the Church to determine, and that the Church in the exercise of her wisdom has done so; that these matters are not, indeed, necessary to salvation, but still highly expedient; and that therefore they are highly consonant with Holy Scripture[2]. The controversy con-

[1] From the *Admonition to the Parliament*: "Seeing that nothing in this mortal life is more diligently to be sought for, and carefully to be looked unto, than the restitution of true religion and reformation of God's church, it shall be your parts, dearly beloved, in this present parliament assembled, as much as in you lieth to promote the same, and to employ your whole labour and study, not only in abandoning all popish remnants both in ceremonies and regiment, but also in bringing in and placing in God's church those things only which the Lord himself in his word commandeth; because it is not enough to take pain in taking away evil, but also to be occupied in placing good in the stead thereof" (quoted by Whitgift, *Works* i. 175).

[2] The following passages will show the general line of Whitgift's answer as well as any:—"It is true that nothing in ceremonies, order, discipline, or government in the church, is to be suffered, being against the word of God: and therefore we reject all ceremonies wherein there is any opinion to salvation, worshipping of God, or merit." "So hath [our Lord] left authority unto his church to make laws and appoint orders and ceremonies, as shall from time to time be thought most expedient

tinued some little while longer, but all had been said that could be, and the two positions stand out with the underlying difference of principle clearly marked [1].

Whitgift's answer was a model of patient and courteous reasoning; and his case was so strong that there was very little to be said against him on the main question [2]. His argument has been pressed home in later days by the teaching of Hooker and others: that the Bible is not intended to contain a fixed code of rules for all time, of such a nature as to limit and enslave human life. It is the Revelation of a Person, not simply

and profitable for the same; so that nothing be done contrary to his word, or repugnant to the same. And this authority hath the church used, even from the apostles' time, as it is manifest, both by the scriptures, and other ecclesiastical stories, and ancient fathers."—*Works* i. 180, 279.

[1] Whitgift gave afterwards as his reason for not following the controversy beyond his *Defence of the Answer to the Admonition*, that he wished "that God would direct that Man's Heart to use his good Gifts to the Peace and Quietnes of the Church"; and that "there was sufficient written already to satisfy an indifferent Reader." (Strype's *Whitgift* p. 301.)

[2] Whitgift was able to show that the foreign reformers entirely repudiated such a position as that of Cartwright and his fellows. He quotes in particular a remarkable passage of Calvin (*Inst.* lib. IV. c. x. sect. 30, 31).

a code; and to treat it as a programme, so to speak, is to degrade Holy Scripture itself, and to turn it into a law instead of a gospel.

(*c*) But this position was not a stable one either. Men found in practice, as they always do, that the Bible cannot be turned into a set of rules. For it does not contain enough. There may indeed be indications in it of such rudimentary Church government as existed during the Apostolic age; but it most certainly does not give a complete scheme, or provide for every case that may arise. And those who try to base a polity upon those indications very soon find that they have to eke them out with matter of their own. Or at least, when they profess to produce a system of government entirely Biblical, others can see that they have only done so by reading into it their own ideas.

So it was in this case. In 1580 there was produced the Book of Discipline, the work of Travers and Cartwright, which henceforth became the standard of the Puritans[1]. It professes to be based upon Holy Scripture

[1] It was printed in 1644, by the authority of the Westminster Assembly, under the title *A Directory of Church-government*. This was reprinted in facsimile by Nisbet in 1872, with a preface by P. L[orimer].

alone, and yet the larger part of it is simply a contrivance of the Reformation period. It consists of two parts:

(1) The Sacred Discipline, which declares that "The discipline of Christ's Church that is necessary for all times is delivered by Christ, and set down in the Holy Scriptures. Therefore, the true and lawful discipline is to be fetched from thence, and from thence alone. And that which resteth on any other foundation ought to be esteemed unlawfull and counterfeit." "Of all particular Churches," it goes on presently, "there is one and the same right, order, and forme. Therefore also no one may challenge to itself any power over others; nor any right which doth not alike agree to others." But it further adds, "Albeit no particular Church hath power over another, yet every particular Church of the same resort, meeting, and counsell, ought to obey the opinion of more Churches with whom they communicate." There are, we are told, four classes of ministers—pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. The ministers of each Church are to be formed into a presbytery; and these in turn are to be organized into larger associations known as *classes* and synods, the entire regulation of

worship and order for any district being in the hands of the *classis* of that district.

(2) Then follows the so-called Synodical Discipline, which developes and gives shape to what has gone before, and contains a series of somewhat minute directions on particular points, some wise, some otherwise, but certainly all alike in that they are not based on Holy Scripture. In a word, the Directory was an attempt to substitute an entirely new system, based upon a supposed conformity with Holy Scripture, for that which had been in existence, in its main features, since the days of the Apostles[1].

VIII.

A deliberate attempt was made to work this system of the Directory within the boundaries of the English Church, without any formal repudiation of the Prayer Book or of the authority of the Bishops. Presbyteries and *classes* were formed in many districts, beginning, it is said, at Cockfield, near Lavenham in Suffolk, and gradually spreading into the midland counties and on to the North. The *classes*

[1] See the Appendix, No. XXIII.

used to summon newly appointed parish priests before them and examine them, and then, if they could say their *shibboleth*, proceeded to lay hands on them!

Nothing could have been more flagrant. And yet it may be that we are inclined to be more severe upon these men than they really deserve. We are inclined to say that it was dishonest to remain in their benefices and disobey the laws of the Church. And no doubt there is much truth in this. But it must be remembered that to leave the Church would have been to give up their fundamental principle; and that they were striving as best they could to secure what they had come to believe was the true method of government of Christ's Church. And they are not the only people who have tried to force the Church in what they believe to be the right direction by disobeying the authorities of the Church for the time being.

IX.

Clearly, however, from the point of view of the Church such a position was quite intolerable; and from the first steps were taken to vindicate her order and discipline. This was

done under the greatest difficulty; for whilst the queen, with that far-seeing wisdom which distinguished her, perceived that it ought to be done by the authority of the Church, the Bishops had grown so used to the doing of such things by royal authority during the last three reigns, that they had little idea how anything could be done without that authority. Moreover, although Cecil loyally supported the Archbishop in most things, he and the other ministers of the Crown were more or less puritan; and the judges and the Privy Council alike looked with a jealous eye upon the power of the Bishops. Still, something was done in 1566, when Archbishop Parker's *Advertisements* were issued[1], and a number of puritan clergy were deprived of their livings. Of these the greater number continued to exercise their ministry so far as they could, or else retired into lay communion; whilst a few of the more unstable seceded[2]. There was a further period of activity in 1573, when Elizabeth at last took action by proclamation[3], directing that lay

[1] The *Advertisements* are printed in Cardwell, *Documentary Annals* i. 287 f.

[2] See p. 178.

[3] Strype's *Parker* book iv. chap. 33 (p. 446).

commissions should be appointed in each diocese to make inquisition, and that non-conforming clergy should be haled before the justices for disobeying the statute law. But the real brunt of the difficulty fell upon Whitgift; for it was during his primacy that the *classes* were in existence. On his accession to the primacy in 1583, he took vigorous action at once; and it is to him we owe it that the English Church was delivered from this great danger. Of course he could use no other methods than the rough-and-ready ones of his day; and his work was done so thoroughly as to expose him to much obloquy. But it was done so justly, and with such moderation, as to win for him the love of many of the Puritans who were brought into personal contact with him; and certainly he deserves the lasting gratitude of all English Churchmen.

X.

One result of all this was that at the death of Elizabeth there was a large number of non-conforming clergy who had been removed from their benefices. These hailed the accession of James I with the liveliest satisfaction. On his way to London they presented to him the

Millenary Petition [1], which is important both from the studied moderation of its requests, and as showing how resolutely they held to the communion of the Church. "We, the ministers of the Gospel in this land," it says, "neither as factious men affecting a popular parity in the Church, nor as schismatics aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical, but as the faithful servants of Christ and loyal subjects of your Majesty, desiring and longing for the redress of divers abuses of the Church, could do no less, in our obedience to God, service to your Majesty, love to His Church, than acquaint your princely Majesty with our particular griefs." And they sign themselves "The Ministers of the Gospel, that desire not a disorderly innovation, but a due and godly reformation [2]."

It was partly owing to this petition that James, who loved a discussion, and more especially when he was in the chair, directed

[1] It professed to represent "moe than a thousand" ministers. Fuller says that "there were but seven hundred and fifty preachers' hands set thereunto, but those all collected only out of five and twenty counties" (*Church History* v. 265, 306). Another estimate gives 825 names, many of which were fictitious (*Hutton Correspondence* p. 174).

[2] I have given the Millenary Petition in full in the Appendix, No. XXIV.

that a conference should be held at Hampton Court upon the points in dispute; and it was held accordingly from January 14, 1604, onwards.

We need not delay to consider it in detail, although indirectly we owe to it our Authorized Version of the Bible and the latter part of the Church Catechism. In other ways, it may suffice to say that from the first the ministers had no fair hearing, and were treated almost with contempt. The king made unseemly jokes, and the Bishops were fulsome and adulatory in the extreme[1]; and as far as Puritanism was concerned, no settlement was really attempted[2].

[1] A valuable contemporary account of the Conference by Dean Barlow of Chester was reprinted in the *Harmer*. It is abridged by Fuller, *Church History* book x. See also H. H. Henson, *Dissent in England* lecture ii.

[2] A single contemporary criticism may suffice to show how deplorable was the whole tone of this assembly. Sir John Harington writes, "I was by and heard much dyscourse; the Kynge talkede muche Latin, and disputed wythe Dr Reynoldes, at Hampton, but he rather usede upbraidinges than argumente, and tolde the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christe againe, and bid them awaie with their snivellinge. The Bishops seemed much pleased, and said his Majestie spoke by the power of inspiration; I wist not what they mean, but the spirit was rather foule mouthede."—*Nugae Antiquae* ii. p. 228, ed. 1779.

The question therefore remained more or less open; and in one way and another the puritan clergy were still able to hold their ground. Sometimes they acted as private chaplains to great people, and as such claimed to be more or less independent of the Bishops; sometimes they held lectureships in parish churches, and so were able to preach without making use of the Liturgy. Above all, when they were content to live quietly and work steadily, lesser divergences from the Prayer Book could frequently be winked at.

XI.

Meanwhile however the Church was growing stronger. Our writers had given us back a theological literature which was worthy of the name, and once more English divines could hold their own with those of the continent. Calvinism was dying hard, but at least it was dying. The services of the Church were once more conducted decently and in order. The royal authority was invoked as much as ever in ecclesiastical matters, but at least there was a growing realization of the true character of the episcopate. And there was a succession of strong

Bishops who placed the Church before men in her true light, and won over a large number of the Puritans themselves.

But meanwhile there was a reaction on the other side, on the part of many who feared that the English Church was reverting into popery. The sectaries, with whom we have to deal afterwards, were daily growing stronger in their demands. Above all, a religious settlement was for the present rendered impossible by one thing, the great political conflict of the seventeenth century. This we need only touch upon slightly.

(*a*) The absolutism of the Tudor sovereigns had done a great work in its day; but the Stuarts, who were of a far smaller mould, still endeavoured to act as they had done. Meanwhile, the power of the Commons had gradually been growing; and things which had been done freely by the Tudors were now regarded as being encroachments upon the ancient constitutional rights of the people, as indeed they were. There was in other words a great struggle of law against prerogative.

(*b*) Again, there had arisen, as the result of various causes which we need not here consider, certain theories with regard to the king which recognized in him a relation to

God which was unique in kind. He was "the Lord's anointed" and as such ruled by a right divine, and compared with his no rights were regarded as having any validity; whilst on the other hand the people as a whole were longing for a fuller share in the national life. It is no doubt true that the Parliament represented the substantial citizens and well-to-do yeomen rather than the people as a whole; but none the less through the strife of parties is to be discerned, at least by the light of after days, a striving after a larger political freedom and a nobler civil life.

In the struggle that ensued, the Bishops as a whole ranged themselves on the side of kingship by divine right; and the result was that all the forces of liberty and licence were thrown on the side of Puritanism. This of course led to the ascendency of an anti-Church party. Church and Crown alike fell; and for nearly twenty years, in spite of the political genius of a Cromwell, everything seemed to be swallowed up in disorder[1]. During this

[1] "The disorderly tumultuous Cries and Petitions of such ignorant Zealots for Extreams under the Name of *Reformation*, and crying down all moderate Motions about Episcopacy and Liturgies, and rushing fiercely into a War, and young Lads and Apprentices and their like, pricking forward Parliament Men, had so great a part

period of religious experimentalism the Puritans gradually fell asunder. By degrees many of them lost their grasp upon their old principles, and practically became nothing but sectaries, or eclectics in religion [1]; whilst, on the other hand, many more came to see that the only hope of freedom from licence lay in obedience to the law of the Church.

XII.

And thus, when the Restoration brought back the Bishops and clergy, Puritanism was no longer what it had once been, but had become merely the rallying point, so far as they had one, of all those who had any quarrel with the Church of England [2]. At the Savoy Conference in 1661, an attempt was made to satisfy them; and for the first time the Puritans were brought face to face with the now fully matured position of the reformed English Church, when twelve ministers, chosen

in our Sin and Misery from 1641 to 1660 as I must give warning to Posterity to avoid the like, and love Moderation."—Richard Baxter, in *Reliquiae Baxterianae* App. no. viii (p. 125).

[1] I have purposely refrained from dealing with the period 1641–1660 in detail.

[2] Excepting indeed the English Papists.

by the party of discontent, met twelve Bishops at the Bishop of London's house in the Savoy, with the Archbishop of York as nominal president.

But two things must be carefully noted about the Conference.

(*a*) Such a discussion may be held fairly in one of two ways. The parties may either meet as equal disputants about some matter which they hold in common, or else those who are aggrieved may bring their grievances to those whose position enables them to receive and to redress such grievances. The latter method was adopted here from the first; when the Bishop of London declared, in the name of his brethren, that it was for those who had any grievances to allege them. The Bishops had not sought the conference; it had been convened for the sake of those who desired certain changes; and therefore, as the Bishops had no changes to propose, they could have nothing to say until the nature and extent of the proposed changes was made known to them [1].

(*b*) No pretence was made of treating all the points at issue between the Church and the Puritans as open questions. Some things

[1] *Reliquiae Baxterianae* p. 306.

were regarded as beyond dispute from the first. For instance, there was no intention of allowing the doctrines of the Church to be called into question. And in spite of political schemes for "modified episcopacy[1]," the Church did not allow her Order or her discipline to be treated as an open question. On the other hand, certain changes might be made in the Book of Common Prayer without a betrayal of principle; and discussion upon this subject was therefore permitted.

Moreover there was no intention of permitting mere fruitless discussion of general questions. The Bishops demanded, through their spokesman, that the exceptions to the liturgy should be presented in writing, in order that they might be considered. This at once did away with mere wrangling and unprofitable verbiage, and secured that the discussion should really be to the point.

Richard Baxter thereupon retired to his lodgings with a Bible, Concordance, and a copy of Lestrange's *Alliance of Divine Offices*; and at the next sitting, held a fortnight afterwards, he produced an entirely new Prayer Book of his own composition, which he proposed for use as an authorized alter-

[1] For which see *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* pp. 259–288.

native to the Book of Common Prayer[1]. Meanwhile, the ministers had prepared their *Exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer*[2], and presented first the *Exceptions* and then the *Reformed Liturgy* to the Bishops[3]. The length and ponderous phraseology of this latter at once condemned it, and we hear of it no more.

The *Exceptions* are very numerous, and fall under two distinct heads, general and particular. We cannot stay to consider the latter here. It may be said shortly, however, that the effect of putting the particular objections into writing was to show (*a*) that most of them were very insignificant and captious[4] ("weak and *pettish* criticisms,"

[1] *Ib.* p. 306. It is printed in the collected editions of Baxter's *Works* (ed. Orme, vol. xv. p. 449 f.), and in Peter Hall's *Reliquiae Liturgicae* vol. iv. I have given some specimens in the Appendix, No. XXV.

[2] They are given in *Reliquiae Baxterianae* p. 316 f., and reprinted in Cardwell's *History of Conferences* p. 303 f., and *Documents relating to the Settlement of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity of* 1662 (ed. Bayne) p. 111 f.

[3] *Reliquiae Baxterianae* p. 333.

[4] e. g. objection was taken to the use of the *Gloria* more than once in a service; of the Lord's Prayer without the doxology; of the suffrage for "all that travel by land or by water," and that against "sudden death," and many more.

Coleridge calls them[1]); (*b*) that many more were based upon an inability to perceive the difference between public and private prayer[2]; and (*c*) that they still took up a position of "sacerdotalism" (in the wrong sense of the word), and failed to realize the place of the Christian laity in the worship of the Church[3].

[1] *Notes on English Divines* vol. ii. p. 26.

[2] Exception is taken to the General Confession on the ground that it "omitteth all actual sins, as specified by the particular commandments violated." On this Coleridge remarks, "Had good Baxter considered the Liturgy *psychologically*, or as a grand composition of devotional *music*, gradually attuning, preparing, animating, and *working up* the feelings of men to *public* and *common* prayer, and thanks, and glory-giving, he would have seen the excellence of much which he here condemns. Above all, he should have borne in mind that public prayer and private prayer, nay, I may add an intermediate, viz. domestic prayer, are quite distinct—much in each incongruous with the others—and that *common* prayer neither can, nor was ever intended to, supersede individual prayer *ubi supr.* p. 27 f., cp. p. 85). See also a wonderful passage in Maurice, *Kingdom of Christ* Part II. chap. iv. sect. 3 (vol. ii. pp. 40, 51, ed. 2).

[3] Of this many illustrations might be given; e.g. the proposal that the minister should throughout adopt the sacerdotal position facing the people; that the people should only say *Amen*; that the clergy should have increased power in repelling from communion and in the instruction of the laity. Coleridge truly says that Baxter's "own system would have produced an hierocracy

But the general proposals of the ministers are far more worthy of consideration. In the first place they proposed that, with the object of avoiding doubtful disputations, the liturgy should consist of "nothing *doubtful* or *questioned* amongst pious, learned, and orthodox persons." Secondly, that "as our first reformers did . . . so compose the liturgy, as to win upon the Papists, and draw them into their Church communion, by varying as little as they well could from the Romish forms," so now the liturgy should be "so composed as to gain upon the judgements and affection of all those who in the substantials of the Protestant religion are of the same persuasion with ourselves." Thirdly, that "the repetitions and responsals of the clerk and people" should be omitted, since "the minister is appointed for the people in all public services appertaining unto God." Fourthly, that the Litany should be made into one "solemn prayer to be offered by the minister unto God for

unexampled and insufferable, which yet he was the last man on earth to have meant or wished."

In truth, the only safeguard against a false sacerdotalism is the clear realization of the priesthood of the whole Church and her members, which again inevitably involves and implies the true doctrine of Holy Order.

the people[1]." And so forth. It would be interesting to follow them out in detail; but these will suffice.

And now let us turn to the *Answers* of the Bishops[2]. They first make a general statement with regard to the principle which underlies the acceptance and observance of a liturgy:

"[The] experience of former and latter times hath taught us; when the liturgy was duly observed we lived in peace; since that was laid aside there have been as many modes and fashions of public worship, as fancies. We have had continual dissensions, which variety of service must needs produce, whilst everyone naturally desires and endeavours not only to maintain, but to prefer his own way before all others; whence we conceive there is no such way to the preservation of peace, as for all to return to the strict use and practice of the form.

"And the best expedients to unite us to that again, and so to peace, are, besides our prayers to the God of peace, to make us all of one mind in a house, to labour to get true

[1] These four "exceptions" are given in full in the Appendix, No. XXVI.

[2] Cardwell, *History of Conferences* p. 335 f.; *Documents* p 146 f.

humility, which would make us think our guides wiser and fitter to order us than we ourselves, and Christian charity, which would teach us to think no evil of our superiors, but to judge them rather careful guides and fathers to us; which being obtained, nothing can be imagined justly to hinder us from a ready compliance to this method of service appointed by them, and so live in unity.

"If it be objected that the liturgy is in any way sinful and unlawful for us to join with, it is but reason that this be first proved evidently before anything be altered; it is no argument to say that multitudes of sober pious persons scruple the use of it, unless it be made to appear by evident reasons that the liturgy gave the just grounds to make such scruples. For if the bare pretence of scruples be sufficient to exempt us from obedience, all law and order is gone[1].

"On the contrary, we judge that if the liturgy should be altered, as is there required, not only a multitude but the generality of the soberest and most loyal children of the Church of England would justly be offended, since such an alteration would be a virtual confession that this liturgy were an intolerable

[1] See Additional Note A, p. 154.

burden to tender consciences, a direct cause of schism, a superstitious usage (upon which pretences it is here desired to be altered); which would at once both justify all those which have so obstinately separated from it, as the only pious tender-consciencied men, and condemn all those that have adhered to that, in conscience of their duty and loyalty, with their loss or hazard of estates, lives, and fortunes, as men superstitious, schismatical, and void of religion and conscience. For this reason and those that follow, we cannot consent to such an alteration as is desired, till these pretences be proved; which we conceive is no wise to be done in these papers, and shall give reasons for this our judgement."

Then they deal with the general proposals of the ministers:—

"To the first general proposal we answer, That as to that part of it which requires that the matter of the liturgy may not be private opinion or fancy, that being the way to perpetuate schism; the church hath been careful to put nothing into the liturgy but that which is either evidently the Word of God, or what hath been generally [1] received in the catholic church: neither of which can be called private

[1] i.e. universally.

opinion, and if the contrary can be proved, we wish it out of the liturgy.

"We heartily desire that, according to this proposal, great care may be taken to suppress those private conceptions of prayers before and after sermon, lest private opinions be made the matter of prayer in public, as hath and will be, if private persons take liberty to make public prayers [1].

"To that part of the proposal that the prayers may consist of nothing doubtful or questioned by pious, learned, and orthodox persons, they not determining who be those orthodox persons; we must either take all them for orthodox who shall confidently affirm themselves to be such, and then we say, first, the demand is unreasonable; for some such as call themselves orthodox have questioned the prime article of our Creed, even the Divinity of the Son of God, and yet there is no reason we should part with our Creed for that. Besides, the proposal requires impossibility; for there never was, nor is, nor can be, such prayers made, as have not been, nor will be

[1] It will be observed that this is not directed against private gatherings for prayer in addition to the ordinary church services, but simply against the *sectarianising* of public worship. See Additional Note B, p. 154.

questioned by some who call themselves pious, learned, and orthodox. If by orthodox be meant those who adhere to Scripture and the catholic consent of antiquity, we do not yet know that any part of our liturgy hath been questioned by such. . . .

"It was the wisdom of our Reformers to draw up such a liturgy as neither Romanist nor Protestant could justly accept (*sic*) against; and therefore as the first never charged it with any positive errors, but only the want of something they conceived necessary, so it was never found fault with by those to whom the name of protestants most properly belongs, those that profess the Augustan confession [1]; and for those who unlawfully and sinfully brought it into dislike with some people, to urge the present state of affairs as an argument why the book should be altered, to give them satisfaction, and so that they should take advantage by their own unwarrantable acts, is not reasonable."

We might take the rest of the answers in detail; but for our purpose these may suffice. The Bishops of the English Church have here spoken clearly in her name: our liturgy, they

[1] This is very noteworthy.

believe, is in accordance with Holy Scripture and primitive antiquity ; no compromise, but containing nothing that either Romanist or Protestant can justly except against. They cannot alter this to please a party, when by so doing they would be causing distress to the generality of loyal English Church people. And so they call upon the ministers to accept the mind of the English Church and acquiesce for the sake of peace and loyalty in that to which no reasonable exception can be taken, since it cannot be right to create disunion on account of our particular likes and dislikes [1]. The Conference did not end here; the ministers put forth a *Rejoinder to the Answer of the Bishops* [2], and this was followed by further

[1] "It seems strange that such men as Baxter should not see that the use of the ring, the surplice, and the like, are indifferent according to his confession, yea, mere trifles in comparison with the Peace of the Church : but that it is no trifle, that men should refuse obedience to lawful authority in matters indifferent, and prefer the sin of schism to offending their taste and fancy. The Church did not, upon the whole, contend for a trifle, nor for an indifferent matter, but for a principle on which all order in society must depend. Still this is true only, provided the Church enacts no ordinances that are not necessary or at least plainly conducive to order or (generally) to the ends for which it is a Church."—Coleridge, *Notes on English Divines* vol. ii. p. 82.

[2] *Documents &c.* p. 201 f.

discussion on particular points. But the Bishops had given their answer in the name of the English Church, and the one question was whether the ministers would accept it. A valuable paper was drawn up for them by Bishop Cosin, urging that, if they simply considered certain things in the Prayer Book to be inexpedient, they ought to acquiesce in the judgement of the Church, and not cause a division in the Church which would be obviously far more inexpedient [1]. Nothing came of it, however; and the Conference broke up when the period expired for which it had been summoned, after preparing a list of concessions which they thought might be made, to satisfy the ministers [2].

A few alterations were made in the Prayer Book, on the lines of these suggested concessions, by authority of Convocation and Parliament: and as thus revised it was offered for the acceptance of the ministers who were then occupants of English benefices.

Of these ministers, as we know, a large proportion were not in Holy Orders at all:

[1] Given in the Appendix, No. XXVII.

[2] They are mostly on points of detail. See Collier, *Ecclesiastical History* Records no. cxix. (vol. ix. p. 404). I have given them in the Appendix, No. XXVIII.

and being unable conscientiously to offer themselves for ordination, they were of necessity removed from benefices which by right they could never have occupied. Of those who were in Holy Orders, i.e. the puritan clergy strictly so called (less than a fourth of the whole number), some conformed; others, like Baxter [1], remained in lay communion as nonconformist members of the Church of England; others again deserted the former principles of the Puritans and became Separatists.

[1] He described himself as a "nonconformist minister but a conformist parishioner."

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

A (p. 147).

It is true that intolerance was one of the current vices of the seventeenth century, and that the spirit of persecution was rife amongst English Churchmen; but the objection to unlimited variety in divine worship which weighed most strongly with English Churchmen as a whole was undoubtedly that which is here given by the Bishops in their *Answers* to the Ministers. It finds expression again and again at a later period. The following example may suffice: "Those that are scared from the Service of God by every little mode in it that is not of divine institution, must leave, not this but all Churches, and finally fall out with their own most careful addresses to God" (R. Hayward, *Sermon preached before the King at Whitehall*, Jan. 16, 1675-6, p. 7, London, 1676). See also the present writer's essay on *Uniformity* in *Church Problems* (Murray, 1900).

B (p. 149).

The fact should be observed that the Act of Uniformity of 1662 (14 Car. II, c. 4), like each of its predecessors, carries forward the provisions of the First Edwardine Act of Uniformity (2 and 3 Edw. VI, c. 1) to the effect that "it shall be lawful for all men, as well

in churches chapels oratories or other places to use openly any psalm or prayer taken out of the Bible, at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service or any part thereof mentioned in the said book." It was the putting forth of unauthorized private devotions *in the place of the service of the Church* that was objected to: and the authorities of the Church who objected to it were less chary of putting forth authorized forms of devotion for special occasions and in times of special need than was the case at a subsequent period.

LECTURE IV.

SECTARIANISM.

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SECTARIANISM.

We have been endeavouring to see what were the principles of the great puritan movement which convulsed the English Church during the latter part of the Reformation period. And unless I have failed in my purpose you will have observed that one of its most striking features was the resolute way in which it struggled against the making of divisions in the Church. The Puritans were content to go on occupying an entirely false position,—living within the Church and forming or taking part in organizations entirely adverse to the discipline and even the doctrine of that Church, and enduring all the obloquy and misinterpretation of motive which resulted from this fact, rather than be the means of creating a schism. Even when the puritan clergy were deprived of their benefices, or when puritan laymen felt themselves unable to take any public part in the

services, they did not therefore secede. They simply became, in the language of that day, *non-conformists*, or non-conforming members of the Church of England. For the seventeenth century knew nothing of our modern use of the word to denote those who have definitely seceded from the Church—separatists or sectaries, as they would have been termed[1].

Nor must we suppose that the Puritans threw in their lot in any way with those who formed separate conventicles, however closely they might resemble one another in some particular points of doctrine. The great fundamental difference between them lay in the fact that the Puritans were within, and the separatists without, the communion of the Church; and this was far too important to be overlooked because of certain minor points of resemblance between them. In fact, no people were more severe as against sectarianism than the Puritans. When they were themselves in power they strained every nerve, both in England and America, to prevent any outward dissension. So far were

[1] See an article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for July 1883 (vol. xvi. p. 407), on "The Nomenclature of English Dissent."

they from extending toleration to others that the Westminster Assembly declared, in its *Confession of Faith,* that

> "they who upon pretence of Christian liberty shall oppose any lawful power, or the lawful exercise of it, whether it be Civil or Ecclesiastical, resist the ordinance of God. And, for their publishing of such practices as are contrary to the light of nature, or to the known principles of Christianity, whether concerning Faith, Worship or Conversation: or to the power of Godliness: or such erroneous Opinions or Practices, as either in their own nature, or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them, are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the Church, they may lawfully be called to account, and proceeded against by the Censures of the Church, and by the power of civil Magistrates[1]."

And this was the position taken up by the bulk of them down to the Savoy Conference[2].

[1] *The Confession of Faith and the Larger and Shorter Catechism* p. 47 (Edinburgh, 1683).

[2] See the Appendix, No. XXIX.

I.

To-day then we pass on to the altogether different subject of Sectarianism, and have to deal with the position of those who definitely rejected the claims of the Christian Society as they found it, and desired to set up another after their own ideas of what was suitable and right. It is, of course, a position which must of necessity be taken up by all who consider that the Christian Church as they find it has ceased to be the Body of Christ and His representative in the world. But by the very fact of so doing, be it remembered, they have rendered nugatory a far larger part of the teaching of the New Testament than we sometimes realize. They have definitely altered the interpretation which had been given for more than fifteen centuries of our Lord's words: "I am with you all the days, even unto the end of the world." And they have given a meaning to the word *Church* which differs fundamentally from that of the great mass of Christian people in all times.

Now it is not to be supposed that men came to take up this position and became sectaries all of a sudden. And indeed, the word *sect*

in its origin and in its earliest use does not denote the thing which we should call schism at all, much as the two have become mixed in later use. It comes not from *seco*, I cut, but *sequor*, I follow; a sect is simply a following, not a cutting. A party which follows some particular man, instead of "discerning the Body," is a sect; or one which puts some particular part of the Gospel message in the place of the Gospel[1]. The spirit of sectarianism was abroad in the Church of Corinth when one said "I am of Paul," and another "I am of Apollos," and another "I am of Cephas," or even "I am of Christ." For it is possible to be as exclusive with the name of our Lord on our lips as with any other name; just as, according to William Law's warning to John Wesley, a man may deceive himself as easily by the phrase "justification by faith" as by any other combination of syllables[2].

[1] Cf. Dixon, *History of the Church of England* iv. 607.

[2] In his famous letter to John Wesley in 1738, Law writes: "Let me advise you not to be too hasty in believing, that because you have changed your language or expressions, you have changed your faith. The head can as easily amuse itself with *a living and justifying faith in the blood of Jesus*, as with any other notion; and the heart, which you suppose to be a place of security, as being the seat of self-love is more deceitful than the

Those, then, who allow their particular predilections, or their party spirit, to take a more important place in their affections than their communion in the Body of Christ, or permit some narrower bond to intrude itself to the detriment of the Christian fellowship, are sectaries according to the original meaning of the word. In this sense it was always used in England at first. Wyclif, for instance, constantly speaks of the *sect* of Dominic or Francis, or of the *sects* of the friars. And even as late as 1611 it was so used; for our Authorized Version of the New Testament speaks of the *sect* of the Pharisees and the Herodians, and so on.

It will be seen, then, that the idea of a sect, according to the original meaning of the word, does not necessarily involve an actual separation from the corporate communion of the Church. But in effect it generally does so, sooner or later. They who lay such stress upon one side of the Gospel message that they practically overlook all the rest are likely in the long run to be faithless to the unity of the Faith. They who give the following of a particular leader a more im-

head."—Southey's *Life of Wesley* vol. i. p. 99 f. (ed. 1858); Tyerman's *Life of Wesley* vol. i. p. 187.

portant place in their minds than the fellowship of the baptized are likely to end by rending that fellowship asunder. And of course, if they believe that he has found out the true scheme of Christ's Church, they will inevitably organize themselves upon that scheme and throw all else aside.

II.

And this was the case with the sectaries of the Reformation period in England: for the name soon came to be confined to those who had so far followed their own leader as to reject the Church of their baptism. It was, as we have seen, an age of discovery, of the breaking down of restraints, of free recourse to the Bible. In this recourse to the Bible they discovered that there was much that they saw around them which could not meet with their approval, and much more in the pages of the Bible which imperatively demanded to be realized in life. When men see some new spiritual truth, which they have not hitherto apprehended, they are always tempted to be unfaithful to that which they had already received, to lay it aside in order to do due honour to the new truth; and so in the end

they frequently remain as one-sided as before. Such was the case here. With the rash experimentalism of untrained minds they proceeded to fling aside as of no value much that was old and priceless, and to grasp that which they seemed to have apprehended. But in this case, like the dog in the fable, they were dropping the meat in order to clutch at the shadow. We may freely acknowledge that there has been much of beautiful Christian devotion and holy living in the sects of all ages; but there would have been far more had they been courageous enough to remain in the communion of the Church. The harm that the thing itself has done to the Christian Society is out of all proportion greater than any good that could ever have come of it[1].

Now it is a very remarkable fact that the one thing which men have hardly ever failed to find in the Bible is the Church. They may differ as widely as the poles as to what they find there; for after all what we see there depends, amongst other things, upon the capacity for seeing which we bring with us. And

[1] Even William Wilberforce declared that "its individual benefits are no compensation for its general evils." *Life of Wilberforce* vol. i. p. 248.

so men have actually failed to discern there the Divinity of our Lord, the Personality of the Holy Spirit, and indeed nearly any other doctrine that could be named. And on the other hand, there is hardly any religious body, however grotesque its doctrines may appear to others, which does not profess to have derived them from Holy Scripture; and this in all honest sincerity, thanks to some fantastic turn or other of the mind. And surely, by the way, this fact itself is enough to impress upon us two lessons which men are not always quick to learn: first, the necessity of a true discipline of the intellect; and secondly, the necessity of studying the Bible by the light of the mind of the whole Church, which is the pillar and ground of the Truth. The true method is "The Church to teach, the Bible to prove."

But to return, the one thing which they all found in the Bible was the Church. They might differ widely amongst themselves, and did, as to what its true nature was; but as to the fact they were agreed. Their conceptions of the company of Christian people were, professedly at least, based upon no mere considerations of prudence or natural association, but upon what they thought they had found in Holy Scripture. Many of them, whilst

having little else in common, came to the conclusion that the society in which they had lived hitherto was not the Church at all. Hitherto, they would say to themselves, the true nature of the Church has been entirely hidden since the days of the Apostles, or has been known only to a few individuals; but at length Christ has made it known to us[1]. Accordingly, one by one, various bodies of people seceded altogether from the communion of the Church, and formed new organizations, differing in principles from one another in almost every conceivable way, and yet each claiming to be the true Church of Christ.

As far as England is concerned, the process may have begun, as so many other bad things did, in the troublous times of Edward VI and Queen Mary; when certain people holding Pelagianizing and anti-Church views, and known as the Free-willers, are said to have

[1] "Most of the sects bow to the authority of the Scriptures, but break with the church and tradition. This, however, is their mistake, that they fancy they are able to put themselves into immediate contact with the apostolic church. For, as Christianity in individuals owes its birth to the church, so church history and tradition form the connecting link between us and the apostolic church."—Martensen, *Christian Ethics* 47 f.

seceded [1]. But at any rate, a formal separation on a small scale took place after the publication of Parker's *Advertisements* in 1566, when they in London were deprived who would not conform to the law of the Church in the matter of the vestments. For whilst the greater number of them continued in the Church, and indeed even exercised their ministry in some cases, with the permission of the authorities, a few of them seceded and formed a regularly organized schism [2]. Their example was followed, and on a much larger scale, four years afterwards, when the adherents of Pope Pius V finally separated from the communion of the English Church, and inaugurated the

[1] It is very doubtful, however, whether they formed a *sect* at all, in the later sense of the word; i.e. whether they had anything of the nature of a separatist organization. The documents dealing with them are given in Dixon, *History of the Church of England* iii. 207 f. (second edition); see also iv. 300 f., and Neal, *History of the Puritans* i. 73 (ed. 1837). And the congregation of which "Mr Rough was pastor, and Cuthbert Symson a deacon," and which Governor Bradford calls the first separatist church in England (*New England Memorial* p. 347), was only a congregation of English Churchpeople who did not conform in the reign of Mary, but still used Edward VI's Prayer Book.—Dixon, iv. 643 f.

[2] See Strype's *Parker* p. 241 f. One of them told the Bishop of London that their reason for withdrawing was that "the Ceremonies of Antichrist were tied to the Service of God."

Romanist body in England. And the idea having once been familiarized to men's minds, other associations of men soon followed in their steps; so that by the middle of the next century the list of such separatist bodies was by no means inconsiderable. Some of them, like the Familists, were entirely foreign in character, and never succeeded in gaining more than a very precarious ground in England. Many others, like the Levellers and the Fifth Monarchy men, were merely mushroom growths, here to-day and gone to-morrow. Others, however, the Independents, the Baptists, and the Society of Friends, have survived down to our own day. And they have been followed, as time went on, by an ever-growing list of later sects, of which we have not yet seen the end.

III.

Now a study of the principles of these bodies will show that, at any rate as a general rule, each of them has seized hold of a real truth; a truth, moreover, which was often forgotten before, and was therefore greatly in need of re-statement. But in such a case there is always a danger lest the newly-discovered

truth should throw into the shade other sides of the Truth, no less essential, which they already possessed. For it is always easier to be one-sided than many-sided, to be sectarian than to be catholic. The danger was certainly not escaped in their case; in the fancied interests of their new element of truth they violently repudiated much that they had before. And human perversity came in too. The very fact that the new truth was an unpalatable one to people at large made them hold to it the more blindly and press it the more uncompromisingly. Still, we must never forget that however mistaken they may have been in what they denied, they were bearing witness to certain real and most necessary truths. And if we understand it rightly, there is much genuine insight in the statement which has frequently been made, that the affirmations of a body will generally be found to be true, whilst its negations will generally be found to be false.

But we must remember that there is in all this a great danger. If we exaggerate one truth to the neglect of other complementary truths, we distort it in the process; and this may go on until partial truth becomes total error. Such will always be the case in the

long run, unless we gradually recover our hold upon what we had neglected; for to put the part in the place of the whole is not only to miss the whole truth, but in the long run to miss even the partial truth at the expression of which we were aiming. "From him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away from him."

And so our proper attitude towards these witnesses and the truths to which they bear witness is one of affirmation, not of negation. We are not called upon to reject that to which they bear witness, but to welcome what is part of our own heritage. Our answer to them must always be "we have this and more too." It is our bounden duty to strive to gather up and re-combine the broken lights, and to make each of these partial truths our own, to make it a part of our *self*. If it please God, the followers of every sect must come back in time, as they are made to realize that we love and reverence all that is dear to each of them—and more too. For indeed "all things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's."

Moreover, this saying of St Paul is not something that belongs to a far distant future. It is actually true at the present day, as a fact of experience, that the Church is the residuary legatee, or perhaps rather the universal successor, to all that is good in the world. In the long run all *is* ours; all that is really good and true and enduring in every sect at length finds its home in the Church. The same thing is true elsewhere; all that is really good and true and enduring in poetry and music and philosophy and physical science, however transitory or faulty its environment may have been, comes back at length and here finds a resting-place. This is its natural home, for the Church alone has the key to it all, in her Lord. It is all gathered into the treasure of the Church; not by our means, for we fail sadly in the true spirit of catholicity, but oftentimes rather in spite of us, and because our God is more catholic than we.

To give but one example: it is enough to fill us with shame when we call to mind the outcry with which Darwin's *Origin of Species* was at first received, or read the superficial and trifling productions in which it was dealt with, even by important Churchmen. And

yet in time the teaching of Evolution has helped us to see new wonders on all sides in God's methods of working, and that too in ways which the Gospel of Jesus Christ might have prepared us to receive with gladness, had we but looked with opened eyes.

IV.

(*a*) The Anabaptists.

Let us then apply these considerations to some of the sects which I have referred to above, in order that we may be able to see to what elements of the truth they were bearing witness. We will take, first, the various *Anabaptist* bodies which spread into England from Holland and elsewhere. Their name was, of course, derived from their practice of re-baptizing their adherents[1]. But this can hardly be said to have been their most striking characteristic; and in practice the name was shared probably by very many who had never been baptized at all. Their leading idea was that the Christian society is purely

[1] Fuller declares that "these Anabaptists are for the main but Donatists new dipped."—*Church History* iii. 175.

spiritual, and that the life of the Christian is not subject to secular restraints.

There is at all times a great danger lest the Church should be corrupted by her relations with the world, and by the temporal pre-eminence which inevitably follows upon success. There is a tendency too for the Church to attempt to win upon the world by approximating her methods to those of the world, and for a grateful world to respond by enforcing religious duties with civil sanctions. All these things involve the danger of a lowering of ideals. Never was the danger greater than now; and the rise of Anabaptism was a most valuable protest against it, based upon our Lord's teaching: "My kingdom is not of this world."

But they interpreted this to mean that Christianity had nothing to do with the ordinary civil life of men. And when they said that the Christian society was spiritual in its nature, they were in reality repudiating altogether the potential sanctity of all secular life. In their eyes, Christianity had no message for a man's daily work, for it had nothing to do with externals; it was an affair of the heart, and anything else was mere legalism. As a matter of fact, nothing could have been

more purely "legal" than their own interpretation of Holy Scripture. For whilst rejecting all the externals of worship and church order as savouring of bondage, they interpreted in the most rigidly literal way everything which they found in Holy Scripture which appeared to run counter to the laws of the society in which they found themselves. And thus they became themselves offenders against their own principles by establishing societies which denied the legality of such things as the taking of oaths, the bearing of arms, the power of the magistrate, and the wisdom of the physician.

Naturally enough they roused great opposition; and in an age when a citizen who would not fulfil his duties was a monstrous thing they were likely to obtain little mercy. The most strenuous efforts were made to induce them to recant[1], and death was the cruel penalty imposed upon those who refused. But such a position as theirs could have in it little of permanence; and such societies as they formed have soon fallen to pieces from their lack of internal coherence. At one time

[1] A Form of Recantation for Anabaptists, which was used in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, is given in the Appendix, No. XXX.

they have degenerated into mere self-centred individualists; at another they have fallen into the grossest antinomianism; and constantly they have been involved in such civil heresies as those which are repudiated in our Thirty-seventh Article of Religion. But if there has been neither coherence nor permanence in Anabaptism, the thing itself has reappeared down to our own day, in the shape of such sects as that which is commonly known as the Peculiar People. It is a standing protest against a standing danger, that of worldliness; and only in proportion as the danger is eliminated can we hope that the protest will be swallowed up in the fullness of the Catholic Church.

V.

(*b*) The Independents.

To pass on to the Independents[1], or Brownists, or Barrowists, as they were at first

[1] This name was apparently first used by them at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In *The beginning of Christ's Visible Church*, published in 1609, Henry Jacob writes that "each congregation is an entire and independent body politic"; and sixteen years afterwards John Robinson uses the name *Independenter* in his *Just and Necessary Apology*, first published in English in 1625. (It appeared first in Latin, in 1619.)

called: the ancestors of those who are more happily described as Congregationalists at the present day. It is possible that we ought to trace them back to a congregation of separatists, of which one Richard Fitz was pastor, formed in 1567 out of those who left the Church in consequence of their refusal to wear the vestments[1]. But however this may be, it is certain that their tenets were first publicly known in England through one Robert Browne, a relative of Burleigh's. At Benet Church, Cambridge, according to Neal, "the vehemence of his delivery gained him reputation with the people"; thence he passed on to London: but presently "being a fiery, hot-headed young man, he went about the counties, inveighing against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church, and exhorting the people by no means to comply with them[2]." Already in 1571 he was in trouble with the authorities, and it happened frequently afterwards. In 1581 he left the country and became pastor of an English congregation at Middleburgh in

[1] So Stoughton, *Religion in England* i. 344; Barclay, *Inner Life* 13; Skeats, *History of the Free Churches* 22. But there is no evidence that Fitz and his followers held the distinctively Independent tenets: in fact the evidence is strongly the other way. See *State Papers Dom.*, Eliz. vol. xx. No. 107 (1).

[2] Neal, *History of the Puritans* i. 245.

Zealand. But dissensions soon arose there, and before long we find him back again, now in Scotland, now in England. At length, in or before 1589, he conformed, and died long afterwards, at a great age, as parson of Achurch in Northamptonshire; being as remarkable for vehemence and choler in his old age as he had been in his youth [1].

Meanwhile, in 1582 he had produced *A book which showeth the life and manners of all true Christians*, in which he set forth the system which presently became known by his name. The chief principle of this system, and that on behalf of which it is a constant protest, is liberty. The churches, according to him, must be absolutely free from any kind of State interference. But more than this: the Church itself has ceased to have any corporate life, if not corporate existence. Every separate congregation, he declared, is an unit by itself, in direct relation with Christ, and containing in itself all that is necessary to life and growth. A congregation comes into existence by such as desire to be members

[1] See the account of him by Fuller, who had "often beheld him" (*Church History* v. 62-70). There is no reason, however, to believe that he was disreputable or dissolute, as some of the later Puritans and Separatists alleged.

joining one another in a common confession of faith, and agreeing to conform to such rules as they choose to lay down for themselves. The Independents regarded every such congregation as having, according to Holy Writ, an absolute right to control its own doctrine, rites, and discipline. New societies might be formed by simple abscission, and at once acquired by a divine right all these powers. No society could exercise discipline over another, since all were equal. The Church, in fact, has been disintegrated into a multitude of isolated units.

Obviously this protest in favour of liberty had gone too far.

(*a*) To begin with, if the congregation was complete in itself, it followed there was no need of Church "machinery." Not only so, they claimed to have a divinely revealed system according to which all such things were utterly wrong: a system which could find no place for the authority which in Holy Scripture we find exercised by Apostles and handed on by them to others, and universally prevalent in the Early Church. Accordingly, Bishops, synods, the authority of their own pastors, all were thrown recklessly aside to

make way for a number of small democratic republics in the place of the Catholic Church. They could not indeed entirely dispense with a ministry, since some voice was needed by which the congregation should express itself. But the congregation was regarded as being the sole source of whatever authority its ministers possessed; and it was held that the power which had made could also unmake them.

(*b*) It will be seen moreover that the claim to have a divinely revealed system of Church government, which all must adopt, obviously "gendereth to bondage," irrespective of its subject-matter, as much as any other rigidly applied system possibly could. And whereas experience shows that the system of the Catholic Church has ever been a bulwark of liberty, this particular system has been found in experience to result in a tyranny sometimes little endurable by those who are subjected to it.

(*c*) And experience has shown that the system is unworkable in practice[1]. In its later history, as we shall see, it soon proved necessary to create something of the nature of a central authority. Like Rousseau[2], Inde-

[1] See Additional Note, p. 219.

[2] *Du Contrat Social* liv. i. 8: "quiconque refusera

pendents before long found it not inconsistent with their principles to "compel men to be free." And there have been symptoms, not only in England but in the mission field, of a desire to create something suspiciously like an Independent or Congregational "establishment" of religion.

VI.

Let us follow out the history of the sect. The loss of Browne was hardly felt; for the accession to it of Henry Barrow and John Greenwood in 1586, and Francis Johnson soon afterwards (all three Cambridge men of some eminence), made it stronger than ever. And the name of Brownists was soon superseded by that of Barrowists or Johnsonists.

Not unnaturally, they found themselves regarded with suspicion on all hands. Between them and the puritan clergy there was no love lost: they regarded these men, though quite wrongly as I have shown, as sharing their principles without having the courage of their opinions. By these very principles the Independents were in public

d'obeir à la volonté générale y sera contraint par tout le corps; ce qui ne signifie autre chose sinon qu'on le forcera d'être libre."

revolt against all the constituted authorities in Church and State. The consequence was that they were presently called upon to suffer; not for their opinions but for their language, not for what they thought but for what they said. In accordance with the barbarous law of the time two of them, Thacker and Copping, were put to death for libel in 1583; and three more, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry (who was a priest, like Browne), in 1593. After that a milder punishment was inflicted; and Independents, when brought before the magistrates, were compelled to leave the country. Their brave endurance naturally commands our sympathy; but it should not so far blind our eyes as to make us think of this as religious persecution. They incurred the penalty for the breach of a purely secular law.

No doubt a considerable number of scattered individuals still remained in England, for from time to time we find them petitioning for toleration. Still, there was a general exodus to Holland, and thence in some cases to America[1]; and it was in the former land that

[1] e.g. the Brownists from Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, with their minister John Robinson, fled to Amsterdam in 1608, and thence to Leyden in 1609. Here they remained for some time, and received many accessions to their

their principles began to take a more permanent shape.

This only took place as the result of a period of conflict. They soon began to find, for example, that their system led to continual subdivision, and that the relation of the minister to the congregation was as yet an unsolved problem. Some of them rejected Calvinism and became Arminian in doctrine. Some of them fell into the gravest moral disorders[1]. Moreover, the question of baptism began to become important. How could they reject the whole Church position and yet recognize the baptism which they had received in the Church? And if that baptism was null, how could they be a Church at all?[2]

number. At length, in 1620 and the following years, the larger part of this congregation emigrated to New England, forming the so-called *Pilgrim Church*.

[1] e. g. the so-called *Ancient English Exiled Church* at Amsterdam.

[2] "Do we not know the beginnings of his church [Robinson's Independent congregation at Leyden]?—that there was first one stood up and made a covenant, and then another, and these two joined together, and so a third, and these became a church, say they; which we deny, except a synagogue of Satan. For was ever church of the New Testament made by a covenant without baptism?" From *A Description of what God hath predestinated concerning Man*, 1620. I owe the reference to Vaughan's *English Nonconformity* p. 154.

Above all, what was to be their attitude with regard to the growing party which repudiated the baptism of infants, even of the "seed of the faithful"?[1] Unless these and other like questions could be solved their position was utterly unstable; as Bishop Hall said to them, "There is no remedy: either you must go forward to Anabaptism, or come back to us[2]."

The result of the disorder was that some did come back to us[3]; whilst many more, including the congregations which afterwards emigrated to New England, renounced much of their rigidity and "came to look on their separation from the English Church as their misfortune, and not a thing to glory in[4]." On the other hand no inconsiderable number had taken up a new doctrinal position and become Baptists;

[1] See the early chapters of Barclay's *Inner Life*, and of Arber's *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* (1897).

[2] In his *Apology of the Church of England against Brownists* (*Works* vol. x. p. 26; cf. p. 9 and *passim*, ed. Oxford, 1837).

[3] One of the most important contemporary publications on the subject is entitled, *The profane Schism of the Brownists or Separatists . . Discovered by Christopher Lawne, John Fowler, Clement Saunders, Robert Bulward; lately returned from the Company of Master Johnson, that wicked Brother, into the bosom of the Church of England, their true Mother. 1612* (4° s.l. *et* a.).

[4] Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* p. 4 f. I have quoted the whole passage in the Appendix, No. XXXI.

whilst the Independent centre, so to speak, had learned that something of the nature of a central authority must be created.

So that when, in 1616, the scattered Independents were again gathered together at Southwark by one Henry Jacob, who had returned from Leyden, they had come to an agreement upon some of the points in dispute, and had agreed to differ upon others [1]. In particular, it was now definitely recognized that congregations were bound to associate with one another for the common good: that each ought willingly to receive counsel and advice from its fellows: and that they ought to shut out from their communion all such as refused to do so. In the *Apologetical Narration of the Independents*, drawn up in 1643 and presented to the House of Commons, they declared indeed that "Every particular congregation of Christians has an entire and complete power of jurisdiction over its members." But they went on to say "not that they claim an entire independency with regard to other churches, for they agree that in all cases of offence, the

[1] "This may be considered the first Independent church established in England, after the exile of the three ancient churches."—Barclay, *Inner Life* p. 98.

offending church is to submit to an open examination by other neighbouring churches, and on their persisting in their error of miscarriage, they are to renounce all Christian communion with them till they repent, which is all the authority or ecclesiastical power that one Church may exercise over another, unless they call in the civil magistrate, for which they find no authority in Scripture[1]." This of course is all the authority that is claimed by any part of the Catholic Church over its members, strictly speaking; for although no doubt in times past attempts have been made to enforce the system of the Church upon all, it must never be forgotten that this was done for purposes of the State, and that when the Church accepted the position, she was really unfaithful to her own ideals[2].

In other words, by the time of the Westminster Assembly Independency had already

[1] Quoted in Neal's *History of the Puritans* ii. 267.

[2] See Bishop Creighton, *Persecution and Tolerance*, passim. "Uniformity of religious belief was ruled by the State to be necessary, and was enforced accordingly. This was contradictory to the spirit of the Church, and was long felt to be so. Yet the Church gave way to the supposed necessities of its new position. . . . When the Church allowed the State to enforce its system upon all, it abandoned its position as the divinely appointed educator of mankind."—pp. 73, 79.

changed its ground. For whilst its extreme section was breaking up into fragments each more undisciplined and more transitory than the last, the great bulk of the Independents had modified their theory of absolute freedom in religion, and were not unwilling to recognize certain functions of the State with regard to religion, provided that they were not directed against themselves. And fourteen years afterwards, when Presbyterianism had declined and the Independents were in the ascendant, an attempt was actually made to set up an Independent "establishment" of religion: and apparently the project was only defeated by the death of Cromwell.

For by the "Humble Petition and Advice" of Parliament, which received the assent of the Protector on May 25, 1657, and thus obtained the force of law, it was provided that "a Confession of Faith, to be agreed by your Highness and the Parliament . . . be asserted, held forth, and recommended to the people of these nations, that none be suffered or permitted, by opprobrious words or writing, maliciously or contemptuously to revile or reproach the Confession of Faith to be agreed upon as aforesaid." With regard to such as believe in God the Three in One and accept the

Scriptures as the revelation of the will of God, but otherwise differ in doctrine, worship, or discipline from the Confession put forth, "endeavours shall be used to convince them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation," but otherwise they are to be protected from all molestation in the exercise of their religion. It is however specially provided that "this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy," or to licentiousness under the cloke of religion—a significant proviso. Further, all they "who agree with the public profession in matters of faith, although they differ in matters of worship and discipline as aforesaid, shall be esteemed fit and capable of any civil trust, employment, or promotion in these kingdoms," and they only who agree with this public profession in matters of faith shall "be capable of receiving the public maintenance appointed for the ministry [1]." In other words, the *Petition and Advice* provides toleration and all the rights of citizenship for all Christian bodies, popery and prelacy excepted, and a definite establishment of some form of doctrine hereafter to be settled by the State.

[1] Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution* 341; Neal, *History of the Puritans* ii. 674.

And the following year steps were taken to carry this out, by a formal "establishment" of Independency. In June 1658, a conference of Independent divines was convened by authority, to meet at the Charterhouse; and they actually set about the preparation of the "Confession of Faith." The plan was frustrated however by the death of the Protector; and although the divines continued to meet at the Savoy Palace, and had produced their *Declaration of Faith and Order*[1] by October, the tide had now turned, and the plan for an Independent Establishment[2] came to nothing.

But the very fact of such a scheme being

[1] Extracts are given by Neal, *op. cit.* ii. 690 f. The divines declare in their *Preface* that hitherto there have been "no association of our churches, no meetings of our ministers to promote the common interest; our churches are like so many ships launched singly, and sailing apart and alone . . . under no other conduct than the word and Spirit, . . without association among themselves, or so much as holding out a common light to others, whereby to know where they were." It is this isolation which they wish to do away with in future.

[2] It is recognized as such by Hanbury, *Memorials of the Independents* iii. 515. Dr Stoughton (ii. 134) misses the point of the *Petition and Advice*; and although he mentions the conference at the Savoy (ii. 488), and says that these things "come not within the space presented by this volume," he seems unaccountably to pass them over entirely in the next volume.

formulated shows that the Independent protest on behalf of liberty had failed; nor has its subsequent history been really different. In our own day it still sets forth the same principles, and still claims that they are "of Divine authority[1]." In the Congregational Union there is still to be seen the proof that absolute independency has been found impossible. And what we sometimes hear about the tyranny of trust deeds and the bondage of ministers is enough to show that true freedom is not to be found on lines such as these.

The protest on behalf of liberty is not less valuable, however, because of the failure of those who made it. It failed because it set a part of the truth in the place of the whole. But so far as it went it was true. A congregation is a real entity; men and women do not worship together day by day or week by week without being knit together in a special way. The claim for a voice in the affairs of the Church is both natural and right; so is the claim on behalf of the Church for self-government and freedom of legislation. Only we may yet find that God has given us a ministry for this very purpose amongst

[1] See the *Declaration of Faith, Church Order, and Discipline*, which still has its place in the *Congregational Year-Book*.

others, to preserve us from the tyranny of mere *ochlocracy;* and that even the civil power may have its uses if it preserve us from constant reaction and mere experimentalism in religion.

VII.

(*c*) The Baptists.

Although many points with regard to the early history of the English Baptists are yet obscure, and will probably remain so, the main features for our purpose are not hard to trace. They were, in a word, an offshoot from the Independents at Amsterdam, who derived the main features of their system from the continental Anabaptists.

It has already been noticed that questions had arisen amongst the Independents with regard to baptism. How could baptism avail those who could not personally profess the faith? how could the purity of the Church be preserved if infants were baptized? how could the baptism which they had already received be valid if the English Church was no true Church? and if invalid, must they not be baptized again? and if so, by whom? These and suchlike questions seem to have perplexed

the members of an Independent congregation from Gainsborough, under the leadership of John Smyth and Thomas Helwys, the former of whom was a priest in English orders[1]. At length, in 1608, they proceeded to baptize themselves[2]! But before March 12 of the following year, discord arose in this little company of Se-Baptists. Helwys appears to have thought their action entirely justifiable, whereas Smyth had only justified it on the ground that he then knew of no "true churches and ministers from whence we might have our baptism without sin." He acknowledged that if there were other true churches such action was unlawful, "for then there might be as many churches as couples in the world, and none have anything to do with another, which breaketh the bond of love and brotherhood in churches[3]." Accordingly

[1] Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* pp. 131–140.

[2] His opponent, John Robinson of the "Pilgrim Fathers," says that Smyth baptized himself and then the others.—*Of Religious Communion*, by John Robinson, p. 168. (Quoted in Barclay, *Inner Life* p. 70.)

[3] From *The Last Book of John Smith called the Retractation of His Errors, and the Confirmation of the Truth.* Of this only one copy is known, in the York Minster Library: it is reprinted as an Appendix to chap. vi. of Barclay's *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth.* These passages occur in pp. v and vi of the reprint.

Smyth and some thirty-one others, who had come to the conclusion that the Mennonites [1] were a true Church, applied for admission to their communion [2]. The request was refused at some date after 8/18 July, 1610; but at length, on January 20, 1615, two and a half years after Smyth's own death [3], his followers were admitted.

Meanwhile Helwys returned to England with others of his company; and founded in London, in 1611 or 1612, what appears to have been the first English Baptist congregation. It set forth a confession of faith which is now extant [4], and presently from this Church there emanated several of the very earliest pleas for toleration which are known in England [5].

[1] The Mennonites are a number of sects of reformed Anabaptists who derive their name from Menno Simons (1492–1559), a priest of Friesland who left the communion of the Church about 1536. Their history is given in Schyn, *Historiae Mennonitarum plenior Deductio* (Amsterdam, 1729); and see a good account in Barclay, *Inner Life* chap. v.

[2] Their application for admission, with the names, is given in Evans, *Early English Baptists* vol. i. pp. 244–5; Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* pp. 137–8.

[3] Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* p. 140. Smyth was buried in the *Nieue Kerk* at Amsterdam on Sept. 1, 1612.

[4] See *Tracts on Liberty of Conscience* p. 87 (Hansard Knollys Society), in Dr E. B. Underhill's preface to *Persecution for Religion Judg'd and Condemn'd*.

[5] Including the second and third, if not the first, of

Other congregations were soon formed as offshoots from this, or by secession from the Independents[1]; and gradually their position was developed. Baptism by immersion seems only to have been introduced amongst the English Baptists on September 12, 1633, their previous practice having been baptism by affusion[2]. In 1644 they are said to have had fifty-four such Baptist congregations[3], in 1646 they put forth a general confession of faith, and by 1649 it is said that thirty Baptist ministers had been intruded as holders of Church livings. And in 1689 a meeting was held in London of "the Ministers and Messengers of, and concerned for, upwards of one hundred Baptist churches in England and Wales (denying *Arminianism*)[4]," at which a new and full confession of faith was put forth.

the *Tracts on Liberty of Conscience*. It will be borne in mind that a claim for complete toleration was a logical result of the religious system of the Baptists and Independents: in this they were in advance of their age. But it may be questioned how far they have always evinced the spirit of toleration towards other Christian bodies.

[1] Neal, *History of the Puritans* iii. 349.

[2] Crosby, *History of Baptists* i. 149.

[3] Neal *ut supr.*

[4] See the preface to Spurgeon's *Baptist Confession of Faith*.

VIII.

We are now in a position to see what were the ruling principles of the Baptist body in England. They were resolved to make a Church which should be pure, by only admitting to Baptism such as were *professors*, in the language of the day, or had made a formal profession of their faith and their conversion. And they would keep it pure by ejecting all who proved unworthy, not only in conduct but according to their somewhat narrow standard of belief. The Church was not a field in which all alike might live, a kingdom into which all alike might be brought,—in order to be nourished and fed from the Life which is therein, and to obtain the benefits of its growth and discipline,—but a strictly guarded enclosure existing for the benefit of the good. The Baptists declared in their Confession of 1646 that—

"Jesus Christ hath here on earth a spiritual kingdom which is his church, whom he hath purchased and redeemed to himself as a peculiar inheritance; which church is a company of visible saints, called and separated from the world by the word and spirit of God, to the

visible profession of the faith of the gospel, being baptized into that faith, and joined to the Lord, and each to other, by mutual agreement in the practical enjoyment of the ordinances commanded by Christ their head and king[1]."

And they go on—

"And all his servants of all estates are to acknowledge him to be their prophet, priest, and king; and called thither to be enrolled among his household servants, to present their bodies and souls, and to bring their gifts God hath given them, to be under his heavenly conduct and government, to lead their lives in this *walled sheepfold and watered garden*, to have communion here with his saints, that they may be assured that they are made meet to be partakers of their inheritance in the kingdom of God[2]."

The Baptists, in a word, occupy the same position amongst English sects as the Puritans occupied in the Church: they lay the stress, beyond all else, not upon what God has done, but upon what man has done; not upon God's

[1] *Baptist Confession of Faith of 1646* § xxxiii (Neal, *History of the Puritans* iii. 565; Curteis, *Bampton Lectures* Appendix G to Lecture IV).

[2] *Ib.* § xxxv.

call, but upon man's answer to that call. The Church is a society of the *perfecti*; and therefore only those can be admitted to it by baptism who have given evidence of their conversion. In the words of their Confession of 1689[1]:

"Baptism is an ordinance of the New Testament, ordained by Jesus Christ, to be unto the party baptized, a sign of his fellowship with him, in his death and resurrection; of his being engrafted into him, of remission of sins; and of his giving up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to live and walk in newness of life. Those who do actually profess repentance towards God, faith in, and obedience to, our Lord Jesus Christ, are the only proper subjects of this ordinance[2]."

We easily see how unsatisfactory much of this teaching in effect becomes. It is well that the purity of the Church should be

[1] It was originally composed in 1677, but reissued in 1689 with the assent of the ministers throughout England; and again, by the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, in 1855 (Passmore and Alabaster). It is printed, in part, by Curteis, *Bampton Lectures* Appendix G.

[2] Chap. xxix. It should be mentioned that this Confession declares (chap. x) that "Infants dying in infancy are regenerated and saved by Christ, through the Spirit."

guarded; but who is to judge whether a man is fitted for baptism or not? And how is the test to be applied? The man who can speak most volubly, and with most assurance, about his spiritual experience is not always the most spiritual man; and the judging of a man's conversion by his testimony opens the way to much of unreality and evil. In effect, even the purity of the Church would seem to be best secured by the ancient way in which "Jesus called a little child unto Him." And moreover, what are we to say about the children in the meantime? Is the Church to have no place for those of whom the Lord said that "of such is the kingdom of heaven"? Are they to remain outside His covenant of grace until they have already shown signs of grace? Are they not to be brought to God until they are good? I am glad to hear that in our day Baptists themselves are realizing the impossibility of such a view, and that in some chapels there is now a service for the dedication of the children of believers.

The whole method is obviously foredoomed to failure. You cannot be sure that your wall will enclose all those whom you would wish to enclose; even if it does so, it may shut out very many who should be within;

whilst at the best, it may be preserving a bare level of respectability at the cost of losing the spirit of liberty. Such a system may mean the loss of very many elements of good which come to us on every hand from the fullness of God's universe. There is a real danger lest they who are within such a fold should be unable to "go in and out, and find pasture[1]." In a word, the method is rather like that which was adopted by the men of Towednack, who, according to the old Cornish saying, built a wall round the cuckoo[2].

We see at once how one-sided is such a view of the Gospel as is involved in this method; and our answer to the Baptist position must be, "We have all this, and more too." Yet at the same time we are bound to recognize the great value of their protest, and bound to hold in reverence their steadfast witness on behalf of purity and spirituality down to our own day, even though it may be somewhat narrow and austere at times. It has lessons for us of the care with which the holiness of Christ's kingdom should be guarded, which were never

[1] St. John x. 9.

[2] Their object was to keep the summer with them all the year round.

more necessary than to-day. It should speak to us of the need of great care in the administration of Holy Baptism, in the choice of sponsors, and in the teaching of their responsibility. It should speak to us of the need for the careful preparation of those who are to be made the temples of the Holy Ghost in Confirmation. It should speak to us of the need for careful guarding of the approach to the Altar, and a more careful observance of the rubrics which provide for this. And it should remind us that the holy discipline of the Church of God is not intended to be either a dead letter or a matter of private fancy.

XI.

(*d*) The Society of Friends.

We turn lastly to the Society of Friends, or Quakers as they are commonly called.

Now we shall not understand this movement aright unless we remember that it began as a protest against Presbyterianism, not against the Church. At the time when George Fox began his preaching in 1646, the churches were to a large extent in the hands

of the Puritans; and the "steeple-houses" against which he and his early followers gave their testimony were, as a rule at any rate, occupied by Presbyterian ministers. I have already pointed out that the ministers were often more "sacerdotal," in the sense in which that great word has come to be commonly used, than the clergy[1]. It is Milton who has told us that "new *Presbyter* is but old *Priest* writ large[2]"; and many things combine to assure us of the fact. We may see signs of this "sacerdotalism" of the ministers in the posture which they took up in public worship, turning towards the people throughout; in the desire to withdraw the whole service from the people, with the exception of the Amen; and, above all, in the way in which they made use of excommunication, and this, too, for matters of opinion. It was against this arrogation of all spiritual functions to themselves that Fox made his protest on behalf of the spirituality and spiritual rights of the laity.

We know the story well enough from his

[1] See p. 144.

[2] In the famous sonnet *on the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament*. It is so good a commentary on the religious state of the time that, although it is so well known, I have given it in the Appendix, No. XXXII.

own *Journal*; which, in spite of something of that spiritual pride which is one of the besetting sins of his day, is a wonderful picture of a saintly soul. He tells us that he was born at Drayton-in-the-Clay, in Leicestershire, in 1624, the son of pious parents, and himself serious-minded from his earliest years. The religious questions which were agitating all men's minds pressed heavily upon him, and still more so the solutions which were offered. Thus he became more and more distressed at the contrast of the principles and the practices of "professors," i. e. those who claimed to be converted Christians, until at length, "at the command of God," he left his home and became a wanderer and a Seeker for light. He tells us how he applied first to one and then to another, but all in vain. He went to London, but "the great professors of the city" could not help him. Nor could his uncle Pickering, a Baptist, although "they were tender then." At Drayton he had much discourse with his minister Nathanael Stevens[1], a Presbyterian;

[1] He was ejected in 1662. See Palmer, *Nonconformist's Memorial* ii. 112, where it is told that he had dealings with Fox, "tho' with little effect. He thought his time better spent in instructing a teachable people, which he did very diligently."

but Fox tells us that "priest Stevens" preached on the Sundays "what I said in discourse to him on the week-days, . . . for which I did not like him."

"After this I went to another ancient priest [1] at Mancetter in Warwickshire, and reasoned with him about the ground of despair and temptations; but he was ignorant of my condition; he bade me take tobacco and sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing I did not love, and psalms I was not in a state to sing. Then he bid me come again, and he would tell me many things; but when I came he was angry and pettish, for my former words had displeased him. He told my troubles, sorrows, and griefs, to his servants; which grieved me that I had opened my mind to such a one. . . . Then I heard of a priest living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man; and I went seven miles to him; but I found him only like an empty hollow cask. I heard also of one called Dr Cradock [2], of Coventry, and went to him. . . . Now as we were walking together in his garden, the alley being narrow, I chanced

[1] i.e. presbyter.

[2] Clearly not the same as Dr Cradock the Episcopalian, who is mentioned in the *Journal* twenty years afterwards, as is evident from the way in which he is there spoken of (*Journal* ii. 41 f.—seventh edition, 1852).

in turning, to set my foot on the side of a bed, at which the man was in a rage, as if his house had been on fire. Thus all our discourse was lost, and I went away in sorrow, worse than I was when I came. I thought them miserable comforters, and saw they were all as nothing to me, for they could not reach my condition. After this I went to another, one Macham [1], a priest in high account. He would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood; but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in arms or head (though they endeavoured to do so); my body being as it were dried up with sorrows, griefs and troubles, which were so great upon me that I could have wished I had never been born; or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness and vanity; or deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed."

And now, when all human help had failed him, there was given to this earnest Seeker

[1] Identified by Dr Hodgkin (*Life of George Fox* p. 24 n.) with John Machin, who was ejected from Whitley in Cheshire in 1662. But this seems impossible from the dates, especially as Machin was "ordained" in 1619, not 1644 as Dr Hodgkin gives it (Palmer. *Nonconformist's Memorial* p. 270).

the light which alone could help him, and which God alone could give. It came to him little by little, and he records it in his own earnest, clumsy way[1]; which however is more truly touching than anything else could be—

"The Lord opened to me that, if all were believers, then were they all born of God, and passed from death into life, and that none were true believers but such."

"At another time, as I was walking in a field on a first-day morning, the Lord opened unto me, 'that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ'; and I wondered at it, because it was the common belief of people."

"At another time it was opened in me, 'That God, who made the world, did not dwell in temples made with hands.'"

So, as he tells us, he began to regard "the priests (i.e. Presbyterian ministers) less, and looked more after the Dissenting people." Soon, however, "As I had forsaken the priests, so I left the separate preachers also . . . for I saw there was none amongst them all that

[1] *Journal* i. 51 f. (seventh edition, 1852).

could speak to my condition." And at length, "When all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do; then, O! then I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition'; and when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely, that I might give Him all the glory; for all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, and faith, and power. Thus when God doth work, who shall hinder it? And this I knew experimentally. . . For though I read the Scriptures that spoke of Christ and of God, yet I knew Him not, but by revelation, as He who hath the keys did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to His Son by His Spirit. Then the Lord gently led me along, and let me see His love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can obtain from history or books; and that love let me see myself as I was without Him. . . . I had not fellowship with any people, priests or

professors, or any sort of separate people, but with Christ, who hath the key, and opened the door of Light and Life unto me. . . . Therefore, all wait patiently upon the Lord, whatsoever condition you be in; wait on the grace and truth that came by Jesus; for if ye so do, there is a promise to you, and the Lord God will fulfil it in you. Blessed are all they that do indeed hunger and thirst after righteousness, they shall be satisfied with it. I have found it so, praised be the Lord who filleth with it, and satisfieth the desires of the hungry soul. O let the house of the spiritual Israel say 'His mercy endureth for ever[1].'"

Such then is the great message of the Seeker. George Fox has received his revelation, and what is it? No new thing[2], but that which had been in the Church from the beginning: that Christ is the true Light, which lighteneth every man coming into the world. And he does not claim it as belonging to himself: rather, its value and glory is that it does not belong to himself but to every man. And from henceforth his life is one great effort to compel all men to see that which he has seen:

[1] *Journal* i. 55 f.
[2] Cf. F. S. Turner, *The Quakers* 35 f.

viz. that each of them has this same Inward Light, and that each, therefore, is capable of a direct and conscious relationship with God.

In the presence of this, which is the great message of Quakerism, we can only "consider, and bow the head[1]." He is stating a great truth which has been in the Church from the beginning; the truth which is "fulfilled' by the other great doctrine of the Indwelling of the Holy Ghost in those whose body has been made His temple. One cannot but think how different Fox's life might have been had he met with those who would have taught him the Catholic doctrine at the first[2].

[1] The notorious Dr Sacheverell did not see things in this light. In his Assize Sermon at Derby in 1709, on *The Communication of Sin*, he says, "Who would have thought, *Threescore Years* ago, that the *Romantick* and silly *Enthusiasms* of such an *Illiterate* and *Scandalous Wretch* as Fox, should in the small *Compass* even of our Memory gain such mighty Ground, *Captivate* so many Fools, and Damn 'em with *Diabolical Inspiration* and *Nonsensial* Cant?" (p. 34).—One cannot read the words without shame, but Sacheverell was known for his violent language even in his own day.

[2] Dr Hodgkin (*Life of Fox* 199 f.) has noticed the significance of Fox's account of his interview with the episcopalian Dr Cradock (*Journal* ii. 41 f.); but I do not think he has exhausted its significance.

X.

But this great truth is after all only part of the truth, whereas the early Quakers tended to treat it as the whole. And whilst we need to learn more fully that which they affirmed, we cannot follow them in that which they denied. To them it seemed evident that there was no room for anything external; churches, ministry, sacraments, all must go. They can have nothing of the nature of a confession by their own principles: but in Robert Barclay's *Fifteen Propositions* it is stated that

"This Divine revelation and inward illumination is that which is evident and clear of itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assert, irresistibly moving the same thereunto[1]."

So that there seems to be no place for an external teacher. And the sacraments are even more definitely explained away:—

"As there is one Lord and one faith, so is there one Baptism, which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of

[1] Barclay's *Propositions*, No. ii (Neal, *History of the Puritans* iii. 569 f.; Curteis, *Bampton Lectures* App. II).

a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the Spirit and fire, by which we are buried with him, that being washed and purged from our sins we may walk in newness of life. . . As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the Scripture[1]."

And again:—

"The communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual . . . of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which they even used in the Church for a time, who had received the substance, for the sake of the weak; even as abstaining from things strangled, and from blood . . . all which things are commanded with no less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are but the shadows of better things, they cease in such as have obtained the substance[2]."

In all these things Fox's teaching was terribly defective. "He had," writes Bishop Westcott, "no eye for the many parts and many fashions in which God is pleased to work. He had no sense of the action of the

[1] Proposition xii. [2] Proposition xiii.

Holy Spirit through the great Body of Christ. He had no thought of the weak and immature, for whom earthly signs are the appropriate support of faith; no thought for the students of nature, for whom they are the hallowing of all life. And so it came to pass that he acknowledged no gracious means for the personal appropriation of God's gifts, as he knew no stages in the popular embodiment of the Truth. He disinherited the Christian society and he maimed the Christian man [1]."

And even this is not all. In severing the links which bound them to the religious society of their day, the Society of Friends were really only creating a new set of restrictions for themselves. The very fact of their separation from all that was formal meant the invention of new forms, just as repudiation of beliefs generally means subjection to new superstitions. They adopted a large number of subsidiary opinions and practices from earlier bodies, such as the Familists [2], the Barrowists [3], and the Baptists [4]; whilst as time went on they affected certain archaic manners in dress and speech which survived to our

[1] *Social Aspects of Christianity* 132 f.
[2] Barclay, *Inner Life* 29 f.
[3] Ib. p. 49.
[4] Turner, *The Quakers* 61.

own day. And it is not a little remarkable that a body which was founded as a protest against what was formal and external, and in order to exemplify what is universal, should be itself the most exclusive and the most externally separated body that English religion knows [1].

But there is a more serious loss still. The whole tendency of the Society is in the direction of waiting for the guidance of the Inward Light; prayers are to be offered, words spoken, all is to be done as "the Spirit moves." But is there not in this the greatest of all dangers? Are there not bad impulses to be guarded against? and therefore must there not be another attitude for the Christian as well as this of waiting? Our prayers are surely most necessary when we are least disposed to pray; and we may be following the guidance of the Inner Light best when we are not conscious of that guidance, but are simply fighting against those downward forces of evil which are our worst foes, or that mere inertia which is so eminently unspiritual in its nature [2].

[1] Cf. Maurice, *Kingdom of Christ* part I. ch. i. sect. 4 (vol. i. p. 72, second edition).

[2] *Ib.* part I. ch. i. sect. 3.

In other words, to the Quaker too we must reply "we have all this and more also," and then see to it that we stir up the gift that is in us. For surely we cannot look at the Society of Friends during its two centuries and a half of history without realizing how much we have still to learn of calm sober devotion; of sensible concentration upon our own business; of regard for the things which are not seen instead of for the things which appear.

XI.

We might apply the method which we have used here to other sects which have arisen during the long period of the Church's history; and we could not do so without profit. There are, indeed, perpetual lessons to be drawn thence. What is there of good? of truth? of insight into spiritual things? Whatever it be, it is ours; and we have to look for it with opened eyes; to reverence it wherever we see it; to make it our own.

Nor is the lesson fully learned when we have understood the features of any particular body. There is a perpetual stream of truth and vitality flowing back into the bosom of

the Church from the sects. We have only to think of such names as those of Butler and Secker, Maurice and Jacobson, in order to realise how precious it is. We have to strive perpetually so to live as to show that all that is good in them has its real home with us; to show that it is the very nature of the Church to be the home and the organ of the many-sided Truth.

For undoubtedly the opposite tendency can end in nothing but continual subdivision. We must base our idea of the Church upon unity, not upon uniformity. The Church, we must remember, is a family, not a clique; a society, not an association. It is not based upon the joining together of those who resemble one another for common pleasures or common aims; but upon the union in one Body of many members with different functions, which supply one another's needs and minister to the perfection of the whole Body. If we base our ideas of the Church upon uniformity, sectarianism is bound to follow. And if it once appears, the process goes on and there is no end to it. Once such a separation has taken place, others will come in its train.

So it has always happened. The reasons

which were very weighty as against a first separation no longer hold good as against separation from a body which has itself only come into existence a few years before. The natural result is a constant succession of such separations, the particular ground for each becoming less and less in magnitude, until at length you arrive at the conclusion of him who declared that the true kirk consisted of himself and Jock, "and I'm no so sure o' Jock." It was against such a tendency as this that the emperor Constantine exclaimed, with regard to a schismatic of his day, "O Acesius, take a ladder and climb up into heaven by yourself[1]."

Edwards the Presbyterian, who wrote in the latter years of Charles I, felt keenly the evils of this kind of thing: and in the successive editions of his *Gangraena* he presents us with a constantly increasing list of "errors, heresies, and blasphemies" current in his day. In his first edition there are 176; in the second 199; while others are added in a new supplement to the work published in 1646. To him it appeared that the whole state of religion in England was gangrened, and that from the foetid mass a series of

[1] Socr. *H. E.* i. 10; Sozom. *H. E.* i. 22.

corruptions was being generated, each more foul than the last. We do not see such a state of things in our own day; and yet we see enough of the endless evils of this spirit of division, in the ever-lengthening list of sects in *Whitaker's Almanack*.

None the less I believe that in our time there are great tendencies towards unity; and that, although by no means entirely good in themselves, they are yet capable of being used for good.

(*a*) There is in our own day an entirely new ideal of "Polychurchism"; a sort of acquiescence in the diversity of sects as being in some sense the many-sided expression of a great truth. This very often leads, no doubt, to the merest and shallowest indifferentism, to that sham toleration which only thinks that its own opinions are as likely to be true as any others. But yet it may be made an approximation towards the Catholic idea; and at the present time I believe that it generally leads to, or implies, a singular yearning for unity, some of the signs of which it is easy to see at the present time.

(*b*) And secondly, all our most recent discoveries in natural science seem to have

the same effect as the philosophy of the Middle Ages had, in compelling men to realize the unity of God's creation, even amidst the utmost apparent diversity.

But here is a danger: we may easily forget that the unity of nature as we see it is not a true unity at all. True unity can have in it nothing that defileth or maketh a lie. The true unity of nature will never be known to us until there is revealed a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. And the true unity of the Church will be in the same order. It will be an unity in which peace is not realized at the expense of the loss of truth.

For we may not assume that one belief is as good as another. He who is teaching us is the Truth; and that which His Holy Spirit leads us into is the Truth. We know it, doubtless, imperfectly as yet; but we can only know it better by cleaving strenuously to, and acting boldly upon, all that we yet have. "If ye continue in my Word, then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free."

ADDITIONAL NOTE (p. 181).

Few things are more remarkable than the way in which Independency or Congregationalism has found itself compelled to modify its system, in order to render it more practically workable. Professor G. P. Fisher points out, in the course of a remarkable article on "Congregationalism" in the new Supplement to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, that "in Great Britain there is to be observed among Congregationalists a growing tendency towards a mutual connexion or combination of churches, as distinguished from a bare Independency." And the rest of the article is practically a commentary on this text.

I am indebted to the kindness of a correspondent at Lutterworth for the knowledge of a letter from "A St Leonards Deacon" in the *British Weekly* for Nov. 16, 1899, which bears out Professor Fisher's statement. In the course of it the writer says: "In treating of Congregationalism, the fact is too often overlooked that Congregationalism has *two* distinctive features. (1) The independence and autonomy of each Church; (2) a democratic form of Church government, the government being vested in the church members, and not in the clergy or ministry, and not in the elders or presbyters. This principle of church government preserves the rights of the layman, and conserves for him a sphere of spiritual

work as church member, prayer leader, deacon, or lay preacher, and it is this sphere for spiritual activities which the Congregational churches present, and not Independency, that attracts to Congregationalism so many ardent and consecrated laymen.

Independency is a principle of weakness and division, and is contrary to our true relation of dependence on God and on one another. It is futile to attempt to reconcile the conflicting and antagonistic principles of independency and brotherhood. All efforts to improve our organization as Congregationalists have been wrecked on the sandbank of independency. It is significant that whenever the church has received a plenary baptism of the Spirit of Christ, the spirit of unity has risen like a flood and has swept away the barriers of independency and isolation. The prayer of the Christ that "they all may be one" should stir us up to adopt some form of organic unity, but no effective union is possible unless we are willing to modify the unbrotherly principle of independency. Let us, then, modify the principle of independency, whilst we maintain the democratic and Christian principle of church government by the members.

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The Danger of Reformation going too far.

[Lord Bacon writes as follows of the extreme party of his day.—*On the Controversies of the Church* (*Works*, ed. Spedding, vol. viii. p. 83 f.).]

"The third occasion of controversies I observe to be, an unlimited detestation of some former heresy or corruption of the church already acknowledged and convicted. . . . Yea, most of the heresies and schisms of the church have sprung up of this root; while men have made it as it were their scale, by which to measure the bounds of the most perfect religion; taking it by the furthest distance from the error last condemned. These be *posthumi haeresium filii; heresies that arise out of the ashes of other heresies that are extinct and amortized.* This manner of apprehension doth in some degree possess many in our times. They think it the true touchstone to try what is good and holy, by measuring what is more or less opposite to the institutions of the Church of Rome; be it ceremony, be it policy or government, yea be it other institution of greater weight, that is ever most perfect which is removed most degrees from that church; and that is ever polluted and blemished which participateth in any appearance with it. This is a subtle and dangerous conceit for men to entertain, apt to delude themselves, more apt to seduce the people, and most apt of all to calumniate their adversaries. This surely

(but that a notorious condemnation of that position[1] was before our eyes) had long since brought us to the rebaptising of children baptised according to the pretended catholic[2] religion. For I see that which is a matter of much like reason, which is the reordaining of priests, is a matter already resolutely maintained. It is very meet that men beware how they be abused by this opinion; and that they know that it is a consideration of much greater wisdom and sobriety to be well advised, whether in the general demolition of the institutions of the Church of Rome there were not (as men's actions are imperfect) some good purged with the bad, rather than to purge the church, as they pretend, every day anew; which is the way to make a wound in her bowels, as is already begun."

No. II.

Mr Beard on the Continuity of the English Church.

[Beard, *Hibbert Lectures* p. 311.]

"We must take some pains to understand a fact which more than any other differentiates the English Reformation—I mean the continuity of the Anglican Church. There is no point at which it can be said, here the old Church ends, here the new begins. Are you inclined to take the Act of Supremacy as such a point? I have already shown that Henry's

[1] He refers, of course, to St Cyprian's attempt to uphold the "rebaptism" of those heretically baptized.

[2] Such is Bacon's usual description of the Roman Catholics in England.

assumption of headship was but the last decisive act of a struggle which had been going on for almost five centuries. The retention of the Episcopate by the English Reformers at once helped to preserve this continuity and marked it in the distinctest way. I speak here as an historian, not as a theologian, and I have nothing to do with that doctrine of apostolical succession which many Churchmen hold, though the Articles do not teach and the Prayer Book only implies it. But it is an obvious historical fact that Parker was the successor of Augustine, just as clearly as Lanfranc and Becket. Warham, Cranmer, Pole, Parker—there is no break in the line, though the first and third are claimed as Catholic, the second and fourth as Protestant. The succession, from the spiritual point of view, was most carefully provided for when Parker was consecrated: not even the most ignorant controversialist now believes in the Nag's-Head fable. The canons of the pre-Reformation Church, the statutes of the Plantagenets, are binding upon the Church of England to-day, except where they have been formally repealed. There has been no break, unless by what we may call private circumstances, in the devolution of Church property. The Church may be Protestant now, as it undoubtedly was Catholic once; but it is impossible to fix the point at which the transition was legally and publicly made[1]."

[1] It should of course be borne in mind that Mr Beard wrote from the standpoint of Unitarianism.

No. III.

Form of Licence to preach granted by Queen Mary.

[Collier, *Records* Num. lxviii repeated:—*Eccl. Hist.* vol. ix. p. 300.]

"Maria &c. . . . supremum caput, dilecto subdito nostro A. B. Sacrae Theologiae Baccalaurio, salutem. Literarum scientia, morum honestas, et alia probitatum et virtutum merita, super quibus apud nos fide digno commendaris testimonio, merito nos inducunt ut personam tuam favore benigno prosequamur. Ad praedicandum igitur et exponendum Verbum Dei publice sermone Latino vel vulgari, clero vel populo, in quibuscunque ecclesiis ac aliis locis ad hoc congruis et honestis, quibuscunque infra regna nostra, &c. situatis; tibi, quamdiu nobis placuerit et laudabiliter te gesseris, in hac parte licentiam tenore praesentium impartimur, et plenam in Domino concedimus potestatem, constitutionibus, legibus et statutis, aliisque in contrarium editis non obstantibus quibuscunque.

"In cujus rei testimonium has literas fieri fecimus patentes.

"Teste meipsa apud West. vicesimo die Novembris anno regni nostri primo.

"Per Cancell. virtute Warranti Reginae."

No. IV.

The True Meaning of the Title "Supreme Governor."

(i) *An Admonition to simple men deceived by malicious.*

[Queen Elizabeth's *Injunctions* of 1559, at p. 12, after the 53rd; Gee and Hardy, *Documents illustrative of English Church History* p. 438; Lingard, *History of England* vol. vi. Appendix, Note BB, p. 325, ed. 1854.]

"The Queen's Majesty being informed, that in certain places of the Realm, sundry of her native Subjects, being called to Ecclesiastical Ministery of the Church, be by sinister perswasion and perverse construction, induced to find some scruple in the form of an Oath, which by an Act of the last Parliament is prescribed to be required of divers persons, for their recognition of their Allegeance to her Majesty, which certainly never was ever meant, nor by any equity of words or good sense can be thereof gathered: would that all her loving Subjects should understand, that nothing was, is, or shall be meant or intended by the same Oath to have any other duty, allegeance, or bond required by the same Oath, than was acknowledged to be due to the most noble Kings of famous memory, King Henry the eighth her Majesties Father, or King Edward the sixth her Majesties Brother.

"And further her Majesty forbiddeth all manner her Subjects, to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notifie to her loving Subjects,

how by words of the said Oath it may be collected, that the Kings or Queens of this Realm, possessors of the Crown, may challenge authority and power of Ministery of divine service in the Church, wherein her said Subjects be much abused by such evil disposed persons. For certainly her Majesty neither doth, nor ever will challenge any other authority, than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble Kings of famous memory, King Henry the eighth and King Edward the sixth, which is, and was of ancient time due to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, that is, under God to have the Soveraignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her Realms, Dominions, and Countries, of what estate, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal soever they be, so as no other forreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. And if any person that hath conceived any other sense of the form of the said Oath, shall accept the same Oath with this interpretation, sense or meaning, her Majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf, as her good and obedient Subjects, and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties contained in the said Act, against such as shall peremptorily or obstinately refuse to take the same Oath."

(ii) *The Thirty-Seventh Article of Religion.*

"The Queenes Maiestie hath the cheefe power in this Realme of Englande, and other her dominions, vnto whom the cheefe gouernment of all estates of this Realme, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Ciuile, in all causes doth apparteine, and is not, nor ought to be subiect to any forraigne iurisdiction.

"When we attribute to the Queenes Maiestie the cheefe gouernment, by whiche titles we vnderstand the mindes of some slaunderous folkes to be offended; we geue not to our princes the ministring either of God's word, or of Sacraments, the which thing the Iniunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Quene, doth most plainlie testifie: But that only prerogatiue whiche we see to haue ben geuen alwayes to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God him selfe, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, and restraine with the ciuill sworde the stubberne and euyll doers."

(iii) *Bishop Cosin's Paper on the Supremacy.*

[*Works* vol. iv. p. 371; the original is amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.]

"Mr Robson and I discoursing on the canon-law, the question was put, from whom the power of excommunication proceeded. I answered, that we had our power thereof from Christ. And Mr Pleasans interposing, that we had it from the king, and that he might excommunicate as well as we, this I said: That no man (who understood himself) had ever said so: that our Church disclaimeth it[1], and that it is a slander laid upon us by the papists: that the exercise thereof was under the king, but the power of it only from Christ, and that by virtue of Holy Orders; and, lastly, that our kings had never taken such power upon them.

"The second question (upon occasion of the former) being made by Mr Pleasans, how the king,

[1] The reference is of course to the Thirty-Seventh Article of Religion, given above.

then, could be said to be 'Head of the Church,' I demanded of him, who it was that said it? and answered, that the laws said it not, that the canons said it not, that our best writers said it not, (at least, in that sense wherein he urged it;) that Queen Elizabeth refused it, that our kings since her time liked it not, that the Oath of Supremacy itself expressed it not, that in my judgement it was unfit for us private men to set forth any other title of the king than what he himself or his state had ordained; that the style was the more misliked, (howsoever in a general sense it might be well enough interpreted,) because the pope's flatterers had given it unto him, and because it doth most properly belong unto Christ, who was the only Head of His Church precisely taken, which is but one Body itself, and so not capable of many heads: and, lastly, that they did but cause themselves either to be pitied or contemned whosoever did affirm, that we gave power of administering the Sacraments or excommunication unto princes themselves, whom nevertheless we acknowledged (and that this I would be as ready to maintain as any man) to be supreme governors both of Church and State; and that by this power of supreme dominion they might command churchmen at any time to do their office, or punish them for the neglect of it. I added further to Mr Robson, saying, that external co-action, indeed, whereby men were forced to obey the interdictions of the Church, was from the king: but the power of spiritual jurisdiction itself was from Christ, who had given it to His Apostles, and they to their successors in Ordination."

(iv) *Selden on Supreme Governor.*

[Selden, *Table Talk* p. 61, ed. Arber.]

"There's a great deal of difference between Head of the Church and Supream Governour, as our Canons call the King. Conceive it thus, there is in the Kingdom of *England* a Colledge of Phisicians, the King is Supream Governour of those, but not Head of them, nor President of the Colledge, nor the best Phisician."

No. V.

THE EXAMINATION AND ANSWER OF JOHN ROGERS, MADE TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR [GARDINER] AND TO THE REST OF THE COUNCIL, THE 22ND OF JANUARY, A.D. 1555.

[Foxe, vi. 593, ed. Pratt and Stoughton. A better text, from Lansdowne MS. 389, is given in App. xii of vol. vi; but the variations are merely verbal.]

"First the lord chancellor said unto me thus: 'Sir, ye have heard the state of the realm, in which it standeth now.'

"*Rogers.* 'No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there have been some general thing said at table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded.'

"Then said the lord chancellor 'General things, general things,' mockingly. 'Ye have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath

received his blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man which did speak against it. Such a unity, and such a miracle, hath not been seen. And all they, of which there are eight score in one house, save one that was by (whose name I know not), have, with one assent and consent, received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How say ye? are ye content to unite and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will ye do that?'

"*Rogers.* 'The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from.'

"*L. Chan.* 'Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head.'

"*Rogers.* 'I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church four hundred years after Christ.'

"*L. Chan.* 'Why didst thou then acknowledge king Henry the Eighth to be the supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?'

"*Rogers.* 'I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as are the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Ghost, authority to be a judge above the word of God.'

"*L. Chan. etc.* 'Yea,' said the Lord Chancellor, and Tonstal bishop of Durham, and N . . .[1] bishop of Worcester, 'if thou hadst said so in his days,'—

[1] Nicholas Heath: doubtless Rogers had not heard that he was now Archbishop of York.

and they nodded the head at me with a laughter—'thou hadst not been alive now.' Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lieth also no great weight thereupon; for all the world knoweth what the meaning was."

No. VI.

The Act of Supremacy (1 Eliz. c. 1).

[*Statutes of the Realm* iv. p. 350 f.; *Statutes at Large* ii. p. 313; Gibson, *Codex* p. 42; Gee and Hardy, *Documents illustrative of English Church History* p. 442.]

"An Act to restore to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the Estate Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all foreign Powers repugnant to the same.

. . . . . .

"XVI. And to the Intent that all usurped and foreign Power and Authority Spiritual and Temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguished, and never to be used or obeyed within this Realm, or any other your Majesty's Dominions or Countries; May it please your Highness that it may be further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate Spiritual or Temporal, shall at any Time after the last Day of this Session of Parliament use, enjoy or exercise any manner of Power, Jurisdiction, Superiority,

Authority, Preheminence or Privilege Spiritual or Ecclesiastical, within this Realm, or within any other your Majesty's Dominions or Countries that now be, or hereafter shall be, but from thenceforth the same shall be clearly abolished out of this Realm, and all other your Highness Dominions for ever; any Statute, Ordinance, Custom, Constitutions, or any other Matter or Cause whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

"XVII. And that also it may likewise please your Highness, that it may be established and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That such Jurisdictions, Privileges, Superiorities and Preheminences Spiritual and Ecclesiastical, as by any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power or Authority hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be exercised or used for the Visitation of the Ecclesiastical State and Persons, and for Reformation, Order and Correction of the same, and of all manner of Errors, Heresies, Schisms, Abuses, Offences, Contempts and Enormities, shall for ever by Authority of this present Parliament be united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

"XVIII. And that your Highness, your Heirs and Successors, Kings or Queens of this Realm, shall have full Power and Authority by Virtue of this Act, by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, to assign, name and authorize, when and as often as your Highness, your Heirs or Successors shall think meet and convenient, and for such and so long Time as shall please your Highness, your Heirs or Successors, such Person or Persons being natural-born Subjects to your Highness, your Heirs or Successors, as your Majesty, your Heirs or Successors shall think meet, to exercise, use, occupy and execute under your Highness, your Heirs and

Successors, all manner of Jurisdictions, Privileges and Preheminences, in any wise touching or concerning any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, within these your Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, or any other your Highness Dominions and Countries: And to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all such Errors, Heresies, Schisms, Abuses, Offences, Contempts and Enormities whatsoever, which by any manner of Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained or amended, to the Pleasure of Almighty God, the Increase of Virtue, and the Conservation of the Peace and Unity of this Realm; and that such Person or Persons so to be named, assigned, authorized and appointed by your Highness, your Heirs or Successors after the said Letters Patents to him or them made and delivered as is aforesaid, shall have full Power and Authority by Virtue of this Act, and of the said Letters Patents under your Highness, your Heirs and Successors, to exercise, use and execute all the Premisses, according to the Tenour and Effect of the said Letters Patents; any Matter or Cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding [1].

"XIX. And for the better Observation and Maintenance of this Act, may it please your Highness that it may be further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every Archbishop, Bishop, and all and every other Ecclesiastical Person, and other Ecclesiastical Officer and Minister, of what Estate, Dignity, Preheminence or Degree soever he or they be or shall be, and all and every Temporal

[1] The whole of this clause was repealed by 16 Car. I. c. 11; which is itself repealed, excepting as concerns this clause, by 13 Car. II. stat. 1. c. 12.

Judge, Justice, Mayor and other Lay or Temporal Officer and Minister, and every other Person having your Highness Fee or Wages, within this Realm, or any your Highness Dominions, shall make, take and receive a corporal Oath upon the Evangelist, before such Person or Persons as shall please your Highness, your Heirs or Successors, under the Great Seal of *England* to assign and name, to accept and to take the same according to the Tenour and Effect hereafter following; that is to say,

I A. B. *do utterly testify and declare in my Conscience, That the Queen's Highness is the only Supream Governor of this Realm, and of all other her Highness Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things or Causes, as Temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence, or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Jurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities, and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear Faith and true Allegiance to the Queen's Highness, her Heirs and lawful Successors, and to my Power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Preheminences, Privileges and Authorities granted or belonging to the Queen's Highness, her Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God, and by the Contents of this Book*[1].

[1] This oath was abolished, and another substituted, by 1 Gu. and M. sess. 1. c. 8.

"XX. And that it may also be enacted, That if any such Archbishop, Bishop, or any other Ecclesiastical Officer or Minister, or any of the said Temporal Judges, Justiciaries, or other Lay Officer or Minister, shall peremptorily or obstinately refuse to take or receive the said Oath; that then he so refusing shall forfeit and lose only during his Life all and every Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Promotion, Benefice and Office, and every Temporal and Lay Promotion and Office, which he hath solely at the Time of such Refusal made; and that the whole Title, Interest, and Incumbency, in every such Promotion, Benefice, and other Office, as against such Person only so refusing, during his Life, shall clearly cease and be void, as though the Party so refusing were dead.

. . . . . .

"XXVII. And for the more sure Observance of this Act, and the utter Extinguishment of all foreign and usurped Power and Authority; may it please your Highness, that it may be further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Person or Persons dwelling or inhabiting within this your Realm, or in any other your Highness Realms or Dominions, of what Estate, Dignity or Degree soever he or they be, after the end of thirty Days next after the Determination of this Session of this present Parliament, shall by Writing, Printing, Teaching, Preaching, Express Words, Deed or Act, advisedly, maliciously and directly affirm, hold, stand with, set forth, maintain or defend, the Authority, Preheminence, Power or Jurisdiction, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical, of any foreign Prince, Prelate, Person, State or Potentate whatsoever, heretofore claimed, used or usurped within this Realm, or any Dominion or Country

being within or under the Power, Dominion or Obeysance of your Highness; or shall advisedly, maliciously and directly put in Use or execute any Thing for the Extolling, Advancement, setting forth, Maintenance or Defence of any such pretended or usurped Jurisdiction, Power, Prehemineence and Authority, or any part thereof; that then every such Person and Persons so doing and offending, their Abettors, Aiders, Procurers and Counsellors, being thereof lawfully convicted and attainted, according to the due Order and Course of the Common Laws of this Realm, for his or their first Offence shall forfeit and lose unto your Highness, your Heirs and Successors, all his and their Goods and Chattels, as well real as personal.

"XXVIII. And if any such Person so convicted or attainted shall not have or be worth of his proper Goods and Chattels to the Value of twenty Pounds, at the Time of his Conviction or Attainder; that then every such Person so convicted or attainted, over and besides the Forfeiture of all his said Goods and Chattels, shall have and suffer Imprisonment by the Space of one whole Year, without Bail or Mainprise.

"XXIX. And that also all and every the Benefices, Prebends and other Ecclesiastical Promotions and Dignities whatsoever, of every Spiritual Person so offending, and being attainted, shall immediately after such Attainder be utterly void to all Intents and Purposes, as though the Incumbent thereof were dead; and that the Patron and Donor of every such Benefice, Prebend, Spiritual Promotion and Dignity, shall and may lawfully present unto the same, or give the same, in such Manner and Form as if the said Incumbent were dead; and if any such Offender or Offenders, after such Conviction

or Attainder, do eftsoons commit or do the said Offences, or any of them, in Manner and Form aforesaid, and be thereof duly convicted and attainted, as is aforesaid; that then every such Offender and Offenders shall for the same second Offence incur into the Dangers, Penalties and Forfeitures ordained and provided by the Statute of Provision and *Praemunire*, made in the sixteenth year of the Reign of King *Richard* the Second.

"XXX. And if any such Offender or Offenders, at any Time after the said second Conviction and Attainder, do the third Time commit and do the said Offences, or any of them, in Manner and Form aforesaid, and be thereof duly convicted and attainted, as is aforesaid; that then every such Offence or Offences shall be deemed and adjudged High Treason, and that the Offender or Offenders therein, being thereof lawfully convicted and attainted, according to the Laws of this Realm, shall suffer Pains of Death, and other Penalties, Forfeitures and Losses, as in Cases of High Treason by the Laws of this Realm."

No. VII.

Archbishop Parker's Instructions to his Suffragans.

[Strype's *Parker* p. 125; *Parker Correspondence* p. 174. I have given the variations of the latter at the foot of the page.]

'To his[1] Loving Brother &c. After my right harty Commendations to your Lordship, This is upon good and deliberate Consideration[2] to require

[1] my. [2] considerations.

you, as also upon your Obedience to charge you, to have a very grave, prudent and godly respect, in executing the Act of the Establishment of the Queen's Authority over her Ecclesiastical Subjects, late passed in this Parliament. And that if upon very apparent Cause your Lordship shall be as it were compelled, for the Wilfulness of some of that Sort, to tender the Oath mentioned in the same Act, the peremptory refusal whereof shall endanger them in *Premunire*, that immediately upon such refusal of any Person, you[1] do address your Letters to me, expressing the Disorders of such one who is fallen into such danger; and that ye proceed not to offer the said Oath a second time, until your Lordship shall have mine[2] Answer returned again to you in Writing. Which, upon your Declaration of the Behaviour of such wilful Recusants shall, I trust, extend to the Punishment and Abolishment of such corrupt Members, if Reason and Clemency will not convince their wilful Error and stubborn Ignorance. Praying your Lordship also not to interpret mine Advertisement, as tending to show my self[3] a Patron for the easing of such Evil-hearted Subjects, which, for divers of them, do bear a perverse Stomach to the Purity of Christ's Religion, and to the State of the Realm, thus by God's Providence quietly reposed, and which also do envy the Continuance of us all so placed by the Queen's Favour, as We be: But only in respect of a Fatherly and Pastoral Care; Which must appear in us, which be Heads of his Flocks[4], not to follow our private Affection and Hearts[5], but to provide *Coram Deo & Hominibus*, for Saving and Winning of others, if it may be so obtained.

[1] ye. [2] my. [3] myself. [4] the flock.
[5] affections and heats.

"And I also pray you to Assure and Persuade your Selves[1], that this manner of my sudden Writing at this time is grounded upon great and necessary Consideration, for the Weal and Credit of us that are Governors in the Church, under the Queen's Majesty, and yet for divers respects meet to be kept secret to your selves, as I doubt not but your Wisdoms will easily see and judge."

No. VIII.

The Adoption of the Roman Missal etc. by the English Romanists.

It is not easy to determine precisely when the old Latin rite of England was abandoned by the English Romanists in favour of the Roman rite of Pope Pius V. The subject has been investigated by Fr John Morris, S.J., and he only came to the conclusion that "the use of the old rites of Sarum, York, or Hereford must have been confined to the Queen Mary priests, of whom there could have been but few, if any, who survived Queen Elizabeth" (*Archaeologia* 1890, vol. lii. p. 119). In the second Douai Diary it is recorded, under April, 1577, "spatio quinque mensium ex nostris theologis facti sunt sacerdotes 20. Atque hi omnes sacrum quotidie secundum ordinem Romani missalis a Pio V editi celebrant, ritus ejusdem missalis accurate et diligenter edocti a venerabili presbytero D. Laurentio Webbo, qui ipse Romae aliquando existens, omnem ejus ordinis rationem et ceremoniam probe et ad amussim didicit" (*First and Second Diaries of Douai* p. 118). And in a paper in the archives of Douai, undated, but circ. 1581–5, giving *Certain*

[1] yourself.

points of ecclesiastical discipline in England, the fifteenth is as follows:—"It is wished w^th^ one consent and greatly desired of worshipfull men that all would follow the Romane use in their office and service, as a thinge commended to all the world by the whole concell of Trent" (*ib.* p. 354). Nevertheless, the Bull *Quod a nobis* (1568) although it recommends the Roman books, expressly sanctions the use of all Missals and Breviaries published two hundred years before the Council of Trent. "And hence," said Mr Ambrose de Lisle in 1839, "there is no doubt that any English [Roman Catholic] bishop has full power to command the restoration of our glorious old Sarum rite" (*Life* vol. ii. p. 220).

No. IX.

The Bull "Regnans in Excelsis."

[Sanders, *De Schism. Angl.* lib. iv. c. 8 (ed. D. Lewis); Tierney's *Dodd* vol. iii. p. ii.]

Pius Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam.

Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in coelo et in terra potestas, unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet, apostolorum principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes et omnia regna principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet, et aedificet; ut

Pius, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, in memorial of this matter.

The sovereign jurisdiction of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, outside of which there is no salvation, has been given by Him, unto whom all power in heaven and on earth is given, the King who reigns on high, to but one person on the face of the earth, to Peter, prince of the Apostles, and to the successor of Peter, the Bishop of Rome. Him He has set up over all nations, and over all kingdoms, to root up and destroy, to

fidelem populum, mutuae charitatis nexu constrictum, in unitate spiritus contineat, salvumque et incolumem suo exhibeat salvatori. Quo quidem in munere obeundo, nos, ad praedictae ecclesiae gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus, omni opera contendentes ut ipsa unitas et catholica religio (quam illius auctor ad probandam suorum fidem, et correctionem nostram, tantis procellis conflictari permisit) integra conservetur. Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia invaluit ut nullus jam in orbe locus sit relictus, quem illi pessimis doctrinis corrumpere non tentarint; adnitente, inter caeteros, flagitiorum serva Elizabetha, praetensa Angliae regina, ad quam, veluti ad asylum, omnium infestissimi profugium invenerunt. Haec eadem, regno occupato, supremi ecclesiae capitis locum in omni Anglia, ejusque praecipuam auctoritatem atque jurisdictionem monstrose sibi usurpans, regnum ipsum, jam tum ad fidem catholicam et bonam frugem reductum, rursus in miserum exitium revocavit. Usu namque verae religionis, quam, ab illius desertore Henrico octavo olim eversam, clarae memoriae Maria regina legitima

waste and to scatter, to plant and to build, to the end that he may maintain in the unity of the spirit the faithful people bound together by the bond of charity, and present them unto Him their Saviour perfect and without loss.

In the discharge of this duty, We, whom God of His goodness has called to the government of His Church, shrink from no labour, striving with all Our might to preserve in their integrity that very unity and the Catholic religion, which are now assailed by so many storms, by His permission from whom they come, for our correction, and for the trial of the faith of His children. But the wicked are so many, and are growing so strong, that there is no part of the world which they have not attempted by their evil doctrines to corrupt; among others labouring for this end is the servant of iniquity, Elizabeth, the pretended queen of England, with whom, as in a safe retreat, the worst of these men have found a secure refuge.

This woman having taken possession of the kingdom, unnaturally claims for herself the place, the great authority and jurisdiction of the supreme head of the Church throughout all

hujus sedis praesidio reparaverat, potenti manu inhibito, secutisque et amplexis haereticorum erroribus, regium consilium, ex Anglica nobilitate confectum, diremit, illudque obscuris hominibus haereticis complevit; catholicae fidei cultores oppressit; improbos concionatores atque impietatum administros reposuit; missae sacrificium, preces, jejunia, ciborum delectum, coelibatum, ritusque catholicos abolevit; libros, manifestam haeresim continentes, toto regno proponi, impia mysteria et instituta ad Calvini praescriptum, a se suscepta et observata, etiam a subditis servari mandavit; episcopos, ecclesiarum rectores, et alios sacerdotes catholicos suis ecclesiis et beneficiis ejicere, ac de illis et aliis rebus ecclesiasticis in haereticos disponere, deque ecclesiae causis decernere ausa; praelatis, clero, et populo ne Romanam ecclesiam agnoscerent, neve ejus praeceptis sanctionibusque canonicis obtemperarent, interdixit; plerosque in nefarias leges suas venire, et Romani pontificis auctoritatem atque obedientiam abjurare, seque solam in temporalibus et spiritualibus dominam agnoscere, jurejurando coegit; poenas et supplicia in eos qui dicto non essent audientes im-

England, and has involved in miserable ruin that kingdom so lately recovered to the Catholic faith and piety.

She has forbidden by the strong hand of power the observance of the true religion, overturned by the apostate Henry VIII, and by the help of the Holy See restored by Mary, the lawful queen, of illustrious memory. She has followed after and accepted the errors of heretics. She has driven the English nobles out of the royal council, and filled their places with obscure heretics. She has been the ruin of those who profess the Catholic faith, and has brought back again the wicked preachers and ministers of impieties. She has done away with the sacrifice of the Mass, the Divine Office, fasting, the distinction of meats, celibacy, and the Catholic rites. She has ordered the use of books, containing manifest heresy, throughout the realm, and the observance by her subjects of impious mysteries and ordinances, according to the rule of Calvin, accepted and practised by herself.

She has dared to take away their churches and benefices from the bishops, the parish priests, and other Catholic ecclesiastics, and has given them with

posuit, easdemque ab iis qui in unitate fidei et praedicta obedientia perseverarunt, exegit; catholicos antistes, et ecclesiarum rectores in vincula conjecit, ubi multi, diuturno languore et tristitia confecti, extremum vitae diem misere finierunt.

other ecclesiastical goods to heretics. She has made herself a judge in ecclesiastical causes. She has forbidden the prelates, clergy, and people to acknowledge the Church of Rome, or to obey its mandates and the Catholic constitutions. She has compelled many to take an oath to observe her wicked laws, to renounce the authority of the Roman pontiff, to refuse to obey him, and to accept her as the sole ruler in temporal and spiritual matters. She has decreed pains and penalties against those who do not submit to her, and has inflicted them upon those who continue in the unity of the faith and obedience.

She has thrown Catholic prelates and parish priests into prison, where many, worn out by sorrows and their protracted sufferings, have ended their days in misery.

Quae omnia cum apud omnes nationes perspicua et notiora sint, et gravissimo quamplurimorum testimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excusationis, defensionis, aut tergiversationis relinquatur, Nos, multiplicantibus aliis atque aliis super alias impietatibus et facinoribus, et praeterea fidelium persecutione, religionisque afflictione, impulsu et opera

All this being notorious and known unto all nations, and so confirmed by very many grave witnesses, as to leave no room for palliation, defence, or concealment, sin being added to sin, and iniquity to iniquity, the persecution of the faithful, and the ruin of religion daily growing more and more at the suggestion and under the direction of Elizabeth afore-

dictae Elizabethae, quotidie magis ingravescente ; quoniam illius animum ita obfirmatum atque induratum intelligimus, ut non modo pias catholicorum principum de sanitate et conversione preces monitionesque contempserit, sed ne hujus quidem sedis ad ipsam hac de causa nuncios in Angliam trajicere permiserit, ad arma justitiae contra eam de necessitate conversi, dolorem lenire non possumus, quod adducamur in unam animadvertere, cujus majores de republica christiana tantopere meruere. Illius itaque auctoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo justitiae throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de apostolicae potestatis plenitudine declaramus praedictam Elizabetham haereticam, et haereticorum fautricem, eique adhaerentes in praedictis anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi corporis unitate praecisos : quinetiam ipsam praetenso regni praedicti jure, necnon omni et quocumque dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam : et item proceres, subditos, et populos dicti regni, ac caeteros omnes qui illi quomodocumque juraverunt, a juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis, et obsequii debito perpetuo

said, whose will is so obstinate and whose heart is so hardened that she has set at nought not only the charitable prayers and counsels of Catholic princes entreating her to return to a better mind and be converted, but also Our own by her refusal to allow the Nuncios of the Holy See to enter the realm, We, having recourse, by necessity compelled, to the weapons of justice, are unable to control Our grief that We must proceed against one whose predecessors have rendered signal services to Christendom.

Relying then on His authority who has placed Us on this sovereign throne of justice, though unequal to the bearing of so great a burden, We declare, in the fulness of the apostolic power, the aforesaid Elizabeth a heretic, and an encourager of heretics, together with those who abet her, under the sentence of excommunication, cut off from the unity of the Body of Christ.

Moreover, We declare that she has forfeited her pretended title to the aforesaid kingdom, to all and every right, dignity, and privilege ; We also declare that the nobles, the subjects, and the people, who have taken any oath to her, are for ever released from

absolutos, prout nos illos praesentium auctoritate absolvimus: et privamus eandem Elizabetham praetenso jure regni, aliisque omnibus supradictis: praecipimusque et interdicimus universis et singulis proceribus, subditis, populis, et aliis praedictis, ne illi, ejusve monitis, mandatis, et legibus audeant obedire. Qui secus egerint eos simili anathematis sententia innodamus. Quia vero difficile nimis esset praesentes quocumque illis opus erit perferre, volumus ut earum exempla, notarii publici manu, et praelati ecclesiastici, ejusve curiae, sigillo obsignata, eandem prorsus fidem, in judicio et extra illud, ubique gentium faciant, quam ipsae praesentes facerent, si essent exhibitae vel ostensae. Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, anno incarnationis Dominicae millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo nono, quinto Calend. Martii, pontificatus nostri anno quinto.

CAES. GLORIERIUS
H. CUMYN.

that oath, and from every obligation of allegiance, fealty, and obedience, as We now by these letters release them, and deprive the said Elizabeth of her pretended right to the throne, and every other right whatsoever aforesaid; We command all and singular the nobles, the people subject to her, and others aforesaid, never to venture to obey her monitions, mandates, and laws.

If any shall contravene this Our decree, We bind them with the same bond of anathema.

Seeing that it would be a work of too much difficulty to send these letters to every place where it is necessary to send them, Our will is that a copy thereof by a public notary, sealed with the seal of an ecclesiastical prelate, or with the seal of his court, shall have the same force in courts of law and everywhere throughout the world that these letters themselves have if they be produced and shown.

Given at St Peter's in Rome, in the year of the Incarnation of our Lord one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine, on the fifth of the calends of March, in the fifth year of Our Pontificate.

CAE. GLORIERIUS
H. CUMYN.

No. X.

Later Modifications of the Bull "Regnans in Excelsis."

[The Faculties by which this was done are given in the tract issued under Burleigh's authority, *The Execution of Justice in England not for Religion, but for Treason.*—Gibson, *Preservative* vol. xvii. p. 58 f., ed. Cumming. They are there said to be printed from "the very writings taken about one of their (i. e. of Campion and Parsons) accomplices immediately after Campion's death."]

Facultates concessae pp. Roberto Parsonio et Edmundo Campiano pro Anglia, die 14 *Aprilis*, 1580.

"Petatur a summo Domino nostro, explicatio Bullae declaratoriae per Pium Quintum contra Elizabetham et ei adherentes, quam Catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obligat semper, illam et haereticos, Catholicos vero nullo modo obliget, rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum, quando publica ejusdem Bullae executio fieri poterit." Then followed many other petitions of faculties for their further authorities, which are not needful for this purpose to be recited: but in the end followeth this sentence, as an answer of the Pope's: "Has praedictas gratias concessit Summus Pontifex patri Roberto Parsonio et Edmundo Campiano in Angliam profecturis, die 14 Aprilis, 1580. Praesente patre

Oliverio Manarco assistente." The English of which Latin sentences is as followeth :—

Faculties granted to the two Fathers Robert Parsons and Edmund Campian for England, the 14th of April, 1580.

"Let it be asked or required of our most holy Lord, the explication or meaning of the bull declaratory made by Pius the Fifth against Elizabeth, and such as do adhere or obey her; which bull the Catholics desire to be understood in this manner, that the same bull should always bind her and the heretics; but the Catholics it shall by no means bind, as matters or things do now stand or be, but hereafter, when the public execution of that bull may be had or made."

Then in the end, the conclusion was thus added: "The highest pontiff or bishop granted these foresaid graces to Father Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, who are now to take their journeys into England the fourteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord 1580, being present the Father Oliverius Manarke, assistant."

In this connexion we may notice the answers made by Father Gerard the Jesuit, when under examination. Being asked if he acknowledged Elizabeth as the true governor and queen of England, he answered in the affirmative. He was further asked if he did so in spite of Pius V's excommunication. "I answered: 'I acknowledge her as our queen notwithstanding I know there is such an excommunication.' The fact was, I knew that the operation of that excommunication had

been suspended for all in England by a declaration of the Pontiff till such time as its execution became possible."—*Life of Father Gerard* p. lxxxv (in Morris, *Condition of Catholics under James I*).

No. XI.

"A Declaration of the Sentence and Deposition of Elizabeth, the vsurper and pretensed Quene of Englande."

[Tierney's *Dodd* vol. iii. p. xliv. I have abridged it in places.]

"SIXTVS the Fifte, by Gods prouidence the vniuersal pastor of Christes flocke, to whome by perpetual and lawful succession, apperteyneth the care and gouernemēt of the Catholike Church, seinge the pittyfull calametyes which heresy hath brought into the renoumed cuntryes of Englande and Irelande, of olde so famouse for vertue, Religion, and Christian obedience: And how at this present, through the impietie and peruerse gouernemēt of *Elizabeth* the pretensed Quene, with a fewe her adhearētes, those kingdomes be brought not onely to a disordered and perillouse state in them selues, but are become as infected members, contagious and trublesome to the whole body of Christendome: . . . Therfore our Holy Father, desyringe as his duty is, to prouide present and effectuall remedy, inspired by God for the vniuersall benefite of his Churche, moued by the particuler affection which him selfe and many his predecessors haue had to these natyons,

And solicited by the Zelous and importunate instance of sundry the most principall persones of the same, hath dealt earnestly with diuers Princes, and specially with the mighty and potent *Kinge Catholike of Spaine*, . . . that he will employe those forces which almighty God hath giuen him, to the deposition of this woman, and correctiō of her complices, so wicked and noysome to the worlde; and to the reformation and pacification of these kingdomes, whence so greate good, and so manifold publike commodeties, are like to ensue.

"And to notefy to the world the iustice of this acte, and giue full satisfaction to the subiects of those kingdomes and others whosoeuer, and finally to manyfest Gods iudgements vpon sinne; his Holynes hath thought good, together with the declaratory sentence of this womans chasticement, to publish also the causes, which haue moued him to procede against her in this sorte. First for that she is an Heretike, and Schismatike, excōmunicated by two his Holines predecessors; obstinate in disobedience to God and the See Apostolike; presuminge to take vpon her, contrary to nature, reason, and all lawes both of God and man, supreme iurisdiction and spirituall auctority ouer mens soules. Secondly for that she is a Bastard, conceyued and borne by incestuous adultery, and therfore vncapable of the Kingdome, aswell by the seuerall sentences of *Clement the* 7. and *Paule the* 3. of blessed memory, as by the publike declaration of Kinge Henry him selfe. Thirdly for vsurpinge the Croune without right, hauing the impediments mentioned, and contrary to the auncyent acorde made betwene the See Apostolike and the realme of England . . And Fvrther for that with sacrilege and impiety, she contineweth violating

the solemne Othe made at her coronation, to mainteyne and defende the auncyent priueleges and ecclesiasticall libertyes of the lande. For Many and greuous iniuryes, extorsions, oppressions, and other wronges, done by her, and suffered to be done against the poore and innocent people of both cuntryes. For sturringe vp to sedition and rebellion the subiects of other nations about her, against their lawfull and naturall princes . . . For harboringe and protectinge Heretikes, fugetiues, rebelles, and notorious malefactors, with greate iniury and preiudice of diuers comon wealthes: and procuringe for the oppressiō of Christendome and disturbance of comon peace, to bringe in our potēt and cruell enemy *the Turke*. For so longe and barbarouse persecution of gods saints, aflictinge, spolynge, and imprisoninge the sacred Bishops, tormentinge, and pittyfully murtheringe numbers of holy Preists, and other catholike persons. For the vnnatural and iniust imprisonment, and late cruelty vsed against the most gracyous Princesse, *Mary Quene of Scotland*, who vnder promise and assurance of protection and succor, came first into Englande. For abolishinge the trew Catholike religion; prophaninge holy Sacramets, Monasteryes, Churches, Sacred persons, Memories of saints, and what els so euer might helpe or further to eternal saluation: And, in the Comon welth, disgraceing the auncyent Nobility, erecting base and vnworthy persons to all the Ciuile and Ecclesiastical Dignetyes, sellinge of lawes and iustice, And finally exercysinge an absolute Tyrannie, with high offence to almighty God, oppressyon of the people, perdition of soules, and ruine of those cuntryes.

"Wherfore, these thinges beinge of such nature and qualety, that some of thē make her vnable to

reigne, others declare her vnworthy to liue; *His Holinesse*, in the almighty power of God, and by Apostolical auctority to him committed, doth renewe the sentēce of his predecessors *Pius* 5. and *Gregory the* 13. tooching the Excōmunication and deposition of the sad *Elizabeth*: and further a newe doth *Excommunicate, and depriue* her of all her auctority and Princely dignety, and of all title and pretensyon to the said Croune and kingdomes of England and Ireland; declaringe her to be illegittimate, and an vniust vsurper of the same; *And absoluinge* the people of those states, and other persons whatsoeuer, from all Obedience, Othe, and other bande of Subiection vnto her, or to any other in her name. *And further* doth straitely commaunde, vnder the indignation of almighty God, and payne of Excōmunication, and the corporal punishmēt appoynted by the lawes, that none, of whatsoeuer condition or estate, after notice of these presents, presume to yeilde vnto her, Obedience, fauor, or other succurse; But that they and euery of them concurre by all meanes possible to her chastisement. To the ende, that she which so many wayes hath forsaken God and his Churche, beinge now destitute of worldly comforte, and abandoned of all, may acknowledge her offence, and humbly submitt her selfe to the iudgements of the highest.

"Be it therfore notefyed to the inhabitants of the said Cuntryes, and to all other persons, that they obserue diligently the premisses, withdrawinge all succor publike and priuate, from the party pursued and her adherents, after they shall haue knowlege of this present: And that forthwith they vnite them selfs to the Catholike army conducted by the most noble and victorious Prince, *Alexander Farnesius, Duke of Parma and Placentia*, in name

of his Maiesty, with the forces that eche one can procure, to helpe and cōcurre as ys aforesaid (yf nede shall be) to the deposition and chasticement of the said persons, and restitutiō of the holy Catholike faith. *Signifyenge* to those which shall doe the contrary or refuse to doe this here cōmaunded, that they shall not escape condigne punishment.

. . . . . .

"To PREVENT also the sheadinge of Christiane bloode, and spoyle of the cuntry, which might ensewe by the resistance of some principall offenders, Be it knowne by these presents, that it shal not onely be lawfull for any person publike or priuate (ouer and besides those which haue vndertaken the enterprise) to areste, put in holde, and deliuer vp vnto the Catholike parte, the said vsurper, or any of her complices; But also holden for very good seruice and most highly rewarded, accordinge to the qualety and condition of the partyes so deliuered . . . AND finally by these presents, fre passage ys graunted to such as wil resorte to the catholike campe, to bringe victuals, munytion, or other necessaryes; promisinge liberall paymet for all such things, as shalbe receiued from the for seruice of the army. Exhorting withall and straitely commaunding, that al men accordinge to theire force and ability, be redy and diligent to assiste here in; to the ende no occasion be giuen to vse violence, or to punish such persons as shall neglect this commaundement.

"Our said holy father, *of his benignety, and favor to this enterprice, out of the spirituall treasures of the Churche, committed to his custody and dispensation, graunteth most liberally, to al such as assist, concurr, or helpe in any wise, to the deposition and*

punishment of the aboue-named persons, and to the reformation of these two Cuntryes, Plenary Indulgence *and perdon of all their sinnes, beinge duely penitent, contrite, and confessed, according to the law of God, and vsual custome of Christian people.*

"Laus Deo."

No. XII.

Elizabeth's Legislation against Romanists.

After the passing of the Statutes 13 Elizabeth cc. 1 and 2, nothing further was done for more than nine years. But the position was entirely changed when the active work of the "Mission" began. In 1579 Sanders was in Ireland as papal legate, doing his best to circulate the bull of deposition. The new English seminary at Rome was opened, and seminary priests were daily crowding into the country, and coming into the most intimate contact with the English Romanists. And as, in addition, the Jesuits Campion and Parsons were known to have landed in England, it seemed imperative to take further steps; and the subsequent legislation was as follows[1]:—

A.D. 1581. A proclamation was issued warning people against the educational methods which were believed to be in use in the seminaries, and forbidding all persons to harbour or conceal "any jesuit, seminary man, massing priests" or the like, under pain of "such severe punishment, as by the laws of the realm, and her highness's princely authority,

[1] I have in each case given the main provisions of the Act.

may be inflicted upon them." (Strype, *Annals* vol. iii. p. 40. The date is Jan. 10, 1581.)

This was followed, when Parliament met, by "An Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience," by which all who professed or attempted to absolve, persuade, or withdraw any of her majesty's subjects from their obedience, or from "the religion now, by her highness' authority, established within her highness' dominions to the Romish religion," and all who shall allow themselves to be so withdrawn, shall be guilty of treason; all who aid them, of misprision of treason; whilst many penalties are imposed upon all who sing or hear mass, or become recusants from the English services (23 Eliz. c. 1).

A. D. 1585. By "An Act against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other such-like disobedient Persons," all Jesuits, &c. are to leave the country within forty days; and all students in seminaries or Jesuit colleges are to return to England and conform, on pain of incurring treason (27 Eliz. c. 2).

A.D. 1587. By "An Act for the more speedy execution of the statute (25 Eliz.) entitled An Act &c.," all recusants are to be compelled to pay up all arrears of their fines; any conveyance of their property with a view to the avoidance of such payment is to be null and void, and in default of payment they are liable to the confiscation of the whole of their personal and two-thirds of their real property (29 Eliz. c. 6).

A. D. 1593. "An Act for restraining of Popish Recusants to some certain places of abode" forbade any such recusant removing to a distance of more than five miles from his accustomed place of abode (35 Eliz. c. 2).

A. D. 1602. The conflict between the Jesuits and the seculars had attracted the attention of the government; and on Nov. 5, 1602, a Proclamation was issued, by which "the Jesuits and secular priests combined with them" were to leave the country within thirty days, whilst the "secular priests dissenting from them" were to do the same within three months; unless on presenting themselves before the authorities, they are allowed to remain, "such further order as shall be deemed most meet and convenient" being taken with regard to them[1]. (Rymer, *Foedera* xvi. 473.)

No. XIII.

Lord Bacon on the Penal Laws against Romanists.

[In his *Observations on a Libel published in this present year* 1592 Lord Bacon thus deals with the laws against Roman Catholics (*Works*, ed. Spedding, vol. viii. p. 177 f.).]

"I find her Majesty's proceedings generally to have been grounded upon two principles;

"The one, That consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, by the aid of time, and the use of all good means of instruction or persuasion;

"The other, That causes of conscience when they exceed their bounds and grow to be matters of faction, leese their nature; and that sovereign princes ought distinctly to punish the practice or contempt,

[1] It will be seen that this is an act of clemency rather than a penal enactment.

though coloured with the pretences of conscience and religion.

"According to these two principles, her Majesty at her coming to the crown, utterly disliking of the tyranny of the Church of Rome, which had used by terror and rigour to seek commandment of men's faiths and consciences, although as a prince of great wisdom and magnanimity she suffered but the exercise of one religion, yet her proceeding towards the Papists was with great lenity, expecting the good effects which time might work in them.

"And therefore her Majesty revived not the laws made in 28° and 35° of her father's reign, whereby the oath of supremacy might have been offered at the king's pleasure to any subject, though he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself, and the refusal to take the same oath without further circumstance was made treason. But contrariwise her Majesty (not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts and affirmations,) tempered her law so, as it restraineth only manifest disobedience in impugning and impeaching advisedly and maliciously her Majesty's supreme power, and maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction. And as for the oath, it was altered by her Majesty into a more grateful form; the harshness of the name and appellation of *Supreme Head* was removed; and the penalty of the refusal thereof turned only into a disablement to take promotion or to exercise any charge; and yet that with a liberty of being revested therein, if any man should accept thereof during his life.

"But after many years toleration of a multitude of factious Papists, when Pius Quintus had excommunicated her Majesty, and the Bull of ex-

communication was published in London, whereby her Majesty was in a sort proscribed, and all her subjects drawn upon pain of damnation from her obedience; and that thereupon, as upon a principal motive or preparative, followed the rebellion in the north; yet notwithstanding, because many of those evil humours were by that rebellion partly purged, and that she feared at that time no foreign invasion, and much less the attempts of any within the realm not backed by some succours from without, she contented herself to make a law against that special case of bringing in or publishing of bulls or the like instruments; whereunto was added a prohibition, not upon pain of treason, but of an inferior degree of punishment, against bringing in of *Agnus Dei*'s, hallowed beads, and such other merchandise of Rome as are well-known not to be any essential part of the Roman religion, but only to be used in practice as love-tokens to enchant and bewitch the people's affections from their allegiance to their natural sovereign. In all other points her Majesty continued her former lenity.

"But when, about the twentieth year of her reign, she had discovered in the King of Spain an intention to invade her dominions, and that a principal point of the plot was to prepare a party within the realm that might adhere to the foreigner; and that the seminaries began to blossom and to send forth daily priests and professed men who should by vow taken at shrift reconcile her subjects from their obedience, yea and bind many of them to attempt against her Majesty's sacred person; and that by the poison they spread the humours of most Papists were altered, and that they were no more Papists in conscience, but Papists in treasonable faction; then were there new laws made for the punishment

of such as should submit themselves to such reconcilements or renunciations of obedience. For it is to be understood that this manner of reconcilement in confession is of the same nature and operation that the bull itself was of, with this only difference, that whereas the bull assoiled the subjects from their obedience all at once, the other doth it one by one; and therefore it is both more secret and more insinuative into the conscience, being joined with no less matter than an absolution from mortal sin. And because it was a treason carried in the clouds and in wonderful secrecy, and came seldom to light; and that there was no presumption thereof so great as the recusance to come to divine service, because it was set down by their decrees that 'to come to church before reconcilement was to live in schism, but to come to church after reconcilement was absolutely heretical and damnable'; therefore there were added new laws containing a punishment pecuniary against such recusants, not to enforce consciences, but to enfeeble and impoverish those of whom it rested indifferent and ambiguous whether they were reconciled or no. For there is no doubt but if the law of recusancy (which is challenged to be so extreme and rigorous) were thus qualified, 'that any recusant that shall voluntarily come in and take his oath that he or she were never reconciled should immediately be discharged of the penalty and forfeiture of that law,' they would be so far from liking well of that mitigation, as they would cry out it was made to entrap them. And when, notwithstanding all this provision, this poison was dispersed so secretly as that there was no means to stay it but to restrain the merchants that brought it in, then was there lastly added a law whereby such seditious priests of the new erection

were exiled, and those that were at that time within the land shipped over, and so commanded to keep hence upon pain of treason.

"This hath been the proceeding with that sort, though intermingled not only with sundry examples of her Majesty's grace towards such as in her wisdom she knew to be Papists in conscience and not in faction, but also with an ordinary mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree convicted by law, if they would but protest, that in case this realm should be invaded with a foreign army by the Pope's authority for the Catholic cause (as they term it), they would take part with her Majesty, and not adhere to her enemies."

No. XIV.

Protestations drawn up by, or under the Direction of, Archbishop Parker.

[Strype's *Parker* p. 324. Strype thinks that they were drawn up by the Convocation of 1571. It is not known whether they were actually used; but their terms are enough to show that the proceedings against Papists and Puritans were political, not religious.]

(i) *A Protestation for Papists.*

"I do profess and confess before God, that I do firmly believe in my conscience that Queen Elizabeth, my Sovereign Lady, now reigning in England, is rightfully and ought to be and continue Queen, and lawfully beareth the regal crown and power of this realm: and so to be obeyed, notwithstanding any act or sentence, that any Pope or Bishop hath done or given, or can do or give: and that if any Pope or

other say or judge the contrary, whether he say it as Pope, or howsoever, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth, and teacheth error."

(ii) *A Protestation for Puritans.*

"I do profess and confess before God, that I do firmly believe in my conscience that Queen Elizabeth, my Sovereign Lady now reigning in England, is and ought to be and continue lawful Queen, and lawfully beareth the regiment, crown, and power of this realm, and so to be obeyed; notwithstanding any act or sentence, that any church, synod, consistory, or ecclesiastical assembly hath done or given, or can do or give. And that if any say or judge the contrary, in what respect soever he saith it, he erreth, and affirmeth, holdeth, and teacheth error and falsehood."

No. XV.

Pius IX the Founder of the Roman Catholic "Church" in England.

[For most of the following references I am indebted to the Rev. A. Brinckman.]

1. "If I am to pass on to speak of the present Pontiff, and of our own obligations to him, then I would have you recollect, my Brethren, that it is he who has taken the Catholics of England out of their unformed state and made them a Church. He it is who has redressed a misfortune of nearly three hundred years' standing. Twenty years ago we were a mere collection of individuals: but Pope Pius has brought us together, has given us Bishops and created out of us a body politic."—From a sermon by Cardinal Newman: *The Pope and the*

Revolution. Oratory Church, Birmingham. Sunday, October 7, 1866. Longman. p. 14.

2. "The Catholic Church [in England] was extinguished when Elizabeth destroyed the Hierarchy. The religion survived, and a number of priests, but the Church was gone. It was long without a Bishop. Then it had a Vicar-Apostolic for England and Scotland; then for long years no Bishop at all. Then a Vicar-Apostolic or two, then four, and in this century eight; then at last the Hierarchy of Pius IX. From that Michaelmas Day, 1850, dates the Catholic Church in England, after three hundred years of ruin."—Cardinal Manning's autobiographical notes, in Purcell, *Life of Manning* vol. ii. p. 773. This note is dated July 17, 1890.

3. "Pope Pius IX, of glorious and saintly memory, established once more the Hierarchy in England as St Gregory had formerly done; and through the Church of Rome he restored in the nineteenth century that continuity of Apostolic succession which had been broken in England in the sixteenth."—Jubilee address to Pope Leo XIII, drawn up by Cardinal Vaughan, and read out in all the Roman Catholic chapels in England, Jan. 1893.

4. "We are a new Mission straight from Rome. . . . Ours is a new wave of Christianity from Rome, to take the place of St Augustine's when it was lost in the shifting sands of the Reformation. . . . In this fact of our not being lineally descended from the pre-Reformation Church, but derived straight from Rome, I see the finger of God, and rejoice day by day with all my heart, for it is a death-blow to the spirit of insularity and nationalism."—Father Humphrey S.J., *The Divine Teacher* p. 54.

5. "With the deposition and imprisonment of

the Old English Hierarchy, the Church of Old England may be said to have come to an end."—Dom J. D. Breen, *The Church of Old England* p. 34 (Catholic Truth Society).

No. XVI.

King James I's Oath for Recusants.

[Stat. 3 Jac. I. c. 4, § xv.]

"I, A. B., do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lord King James is lawful and righttul king of this realm, and of all other his majesty's dominions and countries; and that the pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church or see of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, or to dispose of any of his majesty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or annoy him or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, or to give license or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majesty's royal person, state, or government, or to any of his majesty's subjects, within his majesty's dominions.

"Also I do swear from my heart that, notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of excommunication or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the pope or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived, from him or his see, against the said king, his heirs, or successors, or any absolution of the said

subjects from their obedience, I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend, to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, or otherwise; and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of, to be against him, or any of them.

"And I do further swear that I do, from my heart, abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position,—that princes, which be excommunicated by the pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever.

"And I do believe, and in my conscience am resolved, that neither the pope, nor any other person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me from this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary.

"And these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever: And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a christian. So help me God [1]."

[1] A comparison of this oath with that in the Act of Supremacy (p. 236) will show how necessary it had become

No. XVII.

Passages from the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the Rosary.

[From the Authorized Translation in the *Tablet* of Oct. 2, 1897.]

"Whoever considers the height of dignity and glory to which God has raised the Most August Virgin Mary, will easily perceive how important it is, both for public and for private benefit, that devotion to her should be assiduously practised, and daily promoted more and more.

"God destined her from all eternity to be the Mother of the Incarnate Word, and for that reason so highly distinguished her among all His most beautiful works in the triple order of nature, grace and glory, that the Church justly applies to her these words: 'I came out of the mouth of the Most High, the first-born before all creatures' (Ecclus. xxiv. 5)[1]. And when, in the first ages,

to guard against subtle equivocations and subterfuges such as had been made use of by Father Gerard (see p. 249).

[1] "In Col. i. 15 St. Paul's 'primogenitus omnis creaturae' expresses, and was intended to express, the doctrine of the absolute pre-existence of the Son of God. In Heb. i. 6 we have the same title, the 'first-born,' and if the words of Ecclesiasticus, spoken of the Divine Wisdom, may be applied to the B.V.M., there is no reason why the same words, when written by New Testament authors of the Eternal Word, should not be equally applied to her.

"The Epistle to the Hebrews speaks in xii. 23 of the 'Church of the first-born.' If the Pope means that the Blessed Virgin is one of the first-born, a member distinguished above all others, yet but a sharer with them in the primogeniture bestowed by grace on all believers

the parents of mankind fell into sin, involving their posterity in the same ruin, she was set up as a pledge of the restoration of peace and salvation. . . .

". . . . To this Divine Mother we have offered the flowers of the month of May; to her we would have also fruit-bearing October dedicated with especial tenderness of devotion. It is fitting that both parts of the year should be consecrated to her who said[1]: 'My flowers are the fruit of honour and riches" (Ecclus. xxiv. 23)[2].

". . . Just as by the recitation of the Divine Office, priests offer a public, constant, and most efficacious supplication; so the supplication offered by the members of this Sodality [of the Rosary] in the recitation of the Rosary, or 'Psalter of Our

in Christ, we can understand his 'application,' and have only to regret that it is insufficiently safe-guarded. Had the Encyclical referred to Heb. xii. 23, the faithful would be in less danger of thinking, as they may do at present, that the primogeniture of the Mother of God is different in kind from their own. If Mary is 'first-born before all creatures,' what more can be said of the Eternal Word, the Wisdom of God, and what less of those of whom the Truth said that they were His mother and His brethren? Either the term is 'applicable' to all believers in Christ or else to none of them, including the Blessed Mother herself. Newman classed amongst the phrases that seemed to him 'like a bad dream' one that most accurately describes the Pope's 'application,' viz. 'that she rivals our Lord in being God's daughter, not by adoption, but by a kind of nature.'"—*Church Times*, Oct. 8, 1897.

[1] In the original Latin it is "who says of herself."

[2] "A little later in the Rosary Encyclical we read, 'It is fitting that both months of the year (May and October) should be consecrated to her who says of herself: "My flowers are the fruit of honour and riches"' (Ecclus. xxiv. 23 (Vulg.)). '*Who says of herself*': therefore we are to understand that Wisdom is the Blessed Virgin Mary." —*Ibid.*

Lady,' as it has been styled by some of the Popes, is also in a way public, constant, and universal.

"Since, as We have said, public prayers are much more excellent and more efficacious than private ones, so ecclesiastical writers have given to the Rosary Sodality the title of 'the army of prayer, enrolled by St. Dominic, under the banner of the Mother of God'—of her, whom sacred literature and the history of the Church salute as the conqueror of the Evil One and of all errors. . . .

". . . We are taught by the Catholic faith that we may pray not only to God Himself, but also to the Blessed in heaven (*Conc. Trid.* Sess. xxv), though in a different manner; because we ask from God as from the Source of all good, but from the Saints as from intercessors. . . . Now, of all the blessed in heaven, who can compare with the august Mother of God in obtaining grace? Who seeth more clearly in the Eternal Word what troubles oppress us, what are our needs? Who is allowed more power in moving God? Who can compare with her in maternal affection? We do not pray to the Blessed in the same way as to God; for we ask the Holy Trinity to have mercy on us, but we ask all the Saints to pray for us (*Ibid.*). Yet our manner of praying to the Blessed Virgin has something in common with our worship of God, so that the Church even addresses to her the words with which we pray to God: 'Have mercy on sinners.' The members of the Rosary Sodality, therefore, do exceedingly well in weaving together, as in a crown, so many salutations and prayers to Mary. For, so great is her dignity, so great her favour before God, that whosoever in his need will not have recourse to her is trying to fly without wings[1]."

[1] "One other passage we would fain pass over, so

No. XVIII.

Richard Baxter on the Church.

"It must be no easy matter with us to believe, that the Head and Shepherd of the Church hath *de facto* had a Church of a false constitution, as to the very materials and enterance, from the beginning to this day, except a few within this twenty years that troubled it in a corner of the world: and that now in the end of the world, we must expect a right constitution, as if Christ had slept, or regarded not his Church, or been the head of a body which he disowned: we cannot hastily believe such things. I say again—no Church, no Christ; for no body, no head[1]: and if no Christ then, there is no Christ now. Take heed, therefore, how you un-church, or disown the whole Church of

awful in its consequences does it seem, but to be silent about it when taking notice of such a document would be treason to the Divine Majesty. The Pope does not hesitate to say that 'such is Mary's greatness and such her favour with God that he who needs succour and has not recourse to her wishes to fly without wings.' The authorized English translation has it: 'Whosoever in his need will not have recourse to her is trying to fly without wings.' In that case what becomes of our Lord's invitation, 'Come unto Me,' or of His wondrous teaching in St. John xiv, about asking directly of the Father in His name? Perhaps we have misunderstood the Papal metaphor, but as the words stand they assert that as flight without wings is impossible, so is succour impossible to the weary souls of men without recourse to the Blessed Virgin Mary. If the words are not intended to convey that meaning, a more unfortunate choice of language has never been made."—*Ibid.*

[1] Baxter probably had in mind the words of St Ignatius "It cannot be that a head should be found without members." (S. Ign. *Ep. ad Trall.* c. xi: *οὐ δύναται οὖν κεφαλὴ χωρὶς γεννεθῆναι ἄνευ μελῶν.*)

Christ in the very frame for so many ages." *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, p. 185.

No. XIX.

Wyclifite Use of the Bible as the Sole Source of Church Order.

Statements to this effect are not unfrequently made by the early Lollards, including those who were closest about Wyclif's own person. The following may be mentioned :—

1. "Þerfore Cristen men willen knowlache holy writte and þo lyvynge of Criste for þer rewle, and wolen do aftur ony man in als myche as þai knowen sickerly þat he acordus þerwithe, and no ferþer."—*Select English Works of John Wyclif* (ed. Arnold) vol. iii. p. 495.

2. "Nou3t of al þis is founden in holi writ, in wich is al nedful and profitable ordynaunce of holi chirche," &c.—*English Works of Wyclif hitherto unprinted* (ed. Matthew) p. 2.

3. "Ubi leges humanae non fundantur in sacra Scriptura, subditi non tenentur obedire."—No. xi of Nicholas Hereford's *Conclusions* in 1382 (*Fasciculi Zizaniorum* p. 304).

4. "De legibus ac determinationibus ecclesiae dicit

(*a*) quod christiani habent rationabiles evidentias et causas repellendi statuta papae, et secularium praelatorum, quae non fundantur expresse in sacra scriptura, vel inevitabili ratione.

(*b*) . . . christiani debent bene practizare hanc scholam inobedientiae contra papam, et omnes leges ipsius non fundatas in sacra scriptura."—No. X of the *Haereses et errores domini Johannis Purvey sacerdotis, extracti de libello suo haeretico* (i.e. his *Ecclesiae Regimen*), *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* p. 397.

Of these the first certainly (see Arnold, iii. 454) and the second, I think no less certainly, is not by Wyclif. His tone on the matter is indeed decidedly more reasonable than that of the Lollards, as will be seen from the following passage :—

"It semeþ to many breþeren in God þat þe Chirche þat wandreþ here is maad þral by mannis lawe. . . . And so þe Chirche is þralle more þan in tyme of þe olde lawe, siþ þes mannis lawes ben worse þan weren Goddis lawes þat now ben lefte. And Anticrist is maad a tutour or a governor of þe Chirche, more fool þan þe children, þat shulden be governed by Goddis lawe. And of all sinnes þat now ben, þis is moost perelouse and grevous, þat lesiþ þe fredom þat Crist haþ purchasid, and makiþ men þralle to synne and to þe fend. And þus it were a myche vertue to gete aȝen oure former fredom, and trowe no prelat in þis Chirche, but ȝif he grounde him in Goddis lawe. And þus men shulden shake awey al þe lawe þat þe pope haþ maad, and all reulis of þes newe ordris, but in as myche as þer ben groundid in þe lawe þat God haþ ȝovun."—Wyclif's Sermons on the Epistles, No. VI, *Select English Works* vol. ii. p. 240.

No. XX.

THE ARTICLES ON CEREMONIES IN THE LOWER HOUSE OF THE CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY IN 1562–3.

[Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* vol. vi. p. 480, ed. Pocock.]

"1. That all the Sundays of the year, and principal feasts of Christ, be kept holy-days, and other holy-days to be abrogated.

"2. That in all parish churches, the minister in common-prayer turn his face towards the people, and there distinctly read the divine service appointed, where all the people assembled may hear and be edified.

"3. That in ministering the sacrament of baptism, the ceremony of making of the cross in the child's forehead may be omitted, as tending to superstition.

"4. That for as much as divers communicants are not liable to kneel during the time of the communion, for age, sickness, and sundry other infirmities; and some also superstitiously both kneel and knock [i. e. on their breasts], that the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinary, within his jurisdiction.

"5. That it be sufficient for the minister, in time of saying of divine service, and ministering of the sacraments, to use a surplice: and that no minister say service, or minister the sacraments, but in a comely garment or habit.

"6. That the use of organs be removed."

No. XXI.

Varieties in the Service, and Administration used.

[Strype's *Parker* book ii. chap. 19. p. 143.]

Service and Prayer.

"Some say the Service and Prayers in the Chancel; others in the Body of the Church. Some say the same in a Seat made in the Church; some in the Pulpit, with their Faces to the People. Some keep precisely the Order of the Book; Others intermeddle Psalms in Metre. Some say with a Surplice; others without a Surplice.

"The Table standeth in the Body of the Church in some Places; in others it standeth in the Chancel. In some Places the Table standeth Altarwise, distant from the Wall Yard. In some others in the middle of the Chancel, North and South. In some Places the Table is Joined: In others it standeth upon Tressels. In some the Table hath a Carpet, in others it hath none. Table.

"Some with Surplice and Cap; some with Surplice alone; others with none. Some with Chalice, some with a Communion Cup; others with a common Cup. Some with Unleavened Bread, and some with Leavened. [He might have added, Some with Wafers, some with common Manchet Bread[1].] Administration of the Communion.

"Some receive Kneeling, others Standing, others Sitting. Receiving.

"Some Baptize in a Font, some in a Basin. Some Sign with the Sign of the Cross; others Sign not. Some Minister in a Surplice, others without. Baptizing.

"Some with a Square Cap; some with a Round Cap; some with a Button Cap; Some with a Hat. Some in Scholars Cloaths, some in others." Apparel.

No. XXII.

Grindal and Horn on the Ceremonies.

[Grindal and Horn to Gualter, Feb. 6, 1567.—*Letters from the Archives of Zurich* p. 273 f.]

". . . The sum of our controversy is this. We hold that the ministers of the Church of England may adopt without impiety the distinction of habits now prescribed by public authority, both in the administration of divine worship, and for common

[1] Strype's addition.

use; especially when it is proposed to them as a matter of indifference, and when the use of the habits is enjoined only for the sake of order and due obedience to the laws. . . . They contend on the other hand, that these habits are not on any account now to be reckoned among things indifferent, but that they are impious, papistical, and idolatrous; and therefore that all pious persons ought rather with one consent to retire from the ministry, than to serve the church with those rags of popery, as they call them; even though we have the most entire liberty of preaching the most pure doctrine, and likewise of exposing, laying open, and condemning, by means of sound instruction, errors and abuses of every kind, whether as to ceremonies, or doctrine, or the sacraments, or moral duties. We cannot accept this crude advice of theirs, as neither ought we to be passive under the violent appeals by which they are unceasingly in the pulpit disturbing the peace of the church, and bringing the whole of our religion into danger. . . ."

No. XXIII.

A Directory of Church-Government.

[The *Directory* consists of two parts, (1) the Sacred Discipline and (2) the Synodicall Discipline: of these the former is given in full, and the latter in part. They are printed from the facsimile, published in 1872, of the edition of 1644.]

"The

SACRED DISCIPLINE

of the Church, described in

the Word of God.

"The Discipline of Christ's Church that is necessary for all times is delivered by Christ, and set downe in the holy Scriptures. Therefore the true and lawfull Discipline is to be fetched from thence, and from thence alone. And that which resteth upon any other foundation ought to be esteemed unlawfull and counterfeit.

"Of all particular Churches there is one and the same right order and forme: Therefore also no one may challenge to it selfe any power over others; nor any right which doth not alike agree to others.

"The Ministers of publique charges in every particular Church ought to be called and appointed to their charges by a lawfull Ecclesiasticall calling, such as hereafter is set downe.

"All these for the divers regard to their severall kinds are of equall power amongst themselves.

"No man can be lawfully called to publique charge in any Church, but he that is fit to discharge the same. And none is to be accounted fit, but he that is endued with the common gifts of all the godly; that is, with faith, and a blamelesse life: And further also, with those that are proper to that Ministry wherein he is to be used, and necessary for the executing of the same; whereupon for triall of those gifts some convenient way and examination is to be used.

"The party to be called must first be elected, then he is to be ordained to that charge whereunto he is chosen, by the prayers of that Church whereunto he is to be admitted; the mutual duties of him and of the Church, being before laid open.

"The Ministers of the Church are, first they that are Ministers of the word. In their examination it is specially to be taken heed unto, that they be apt

to teach, and tryed men, not utterly unlearned, nor newly planted and converted to the Faith.

"Now these Ministers of the word are, first Pastors, which doe administer the Word and Sacraments, then Teachers, which are occupied in wholesome doctrine.

"Besides there are also Elders, which watch over the life and behaviour of every man, and Deacons, which have care over the poore.

"Further, in every particular Church there ought to be a Presbytery, which is a Consistory, and as it were a Senate of Elders. Under the name of Elders here are contained they who in the Church minister doctrine, and they who are properly called Elders.

"By the common Counsell of the Eldership all things are directed that belong to the state of their Church. First, such as belong to the guidance of the whole body of it in the holy and common assembly gathered together in the name of the Lord, that all things may be done in them duely, orderly, and to edification. 2. Then also such as pertain to particular persons. First, to all the members of that Church, that the good may enioy all the priviledges that belong unto them, that the wicked may be corrected with Ecclesiasticall censures according to the quality of the fault, private and publique, by admonishing and by removing either from the Lords Supper by suspension (as it is commonly called) or out of the Church by Excommunication. The which belong specially to the Ministers of publique charge in the Church to their calling either to be begun or ended, and ended either by relieving or punishing them, and that for a time by suspension or altogether by deposition.

"For directing of the Eldership let the Pastors be set over it, or if there be mo Pastors then one in the same Church, let the Pastors doe it in their turnes.

"But yet in all the greater affaires of the Church, as in Excommunicating of any, and in choosing and deposing of Church Ministers, nothing may be concluded without the knowledge and consent of the Church.

"Particular Churches ought to yeeld mutuall help one to another, for which cause they are to communicate amongst themselves.

"The end of this communicating together is, that all things in them may be so directed both in regard of Doctrine and also of Discipline, as by the Word of God they ought to bee.

"Therfore the things that belong hereunto are determined by the common opinion of those who meet so to communicate together, and whatsoever is to be amended furthered or procured in any of those severall Churches that belong to that assembly. Wherein, albeit no particular Church hath power over another, yet every particular Church of the same resort, meeting and counsell, ought to obey the opinion of more Churches with whom they communicate.

"For holding of these meetings and assemblies there are to be chosen by every Church belonging to that assembly, principall men from among the Elders, who are to have their instructions from them, and so to bee sent to the Assembly. There must be also a care had, that the things they shall returne to have been godly agreed on by the meetings, be diligently observed by the Churches.

"Further in such assemblies there is also to be chosen one that may be set over the assemblies, who

may moderate and direct them. His duty is to see, that the assemblies be held godly, quiet and comely. Therefore it belongeth unto him to begin and end the Conference with prayer, to know every mans instructions, to propound in order the things that are to bee handled, to gather their opinions, and to propound what is the opinion of the greater part. It is also the part of the rest of the assembly to speak their opinions of the things propounded godly and quietly [1]."

"*The Synodicall Discipline gathered out of the Synods and use of the Churches which have restored it according to the Word of God, and out of sundry bookes that are written of the same, and referred unto certain Heads.*

Of the necessity of a Calling.

"Let no man thrust himselfe into the executing of any part of publique charge in the administration of the Word, Sacraments, Discipline, or care over the poore, Neither let any such sue or seek for any publique charge of the Church, but let every one tarry untill hee bee lawfully called.

. . . . .

Of Preaching.

"Let him that shall Preach choose some part of the Canonicall Scripture to expound, and not of the *Apocrypha*. Further in his ordinary Ministery, let

[1] The text of the *Sacred Discipline* is printed in black letter; that of the *Synodicall Discipline*, of which extracts only are given here, in ordinary roman type.

him not take Postills (as they are called) but some whole booke of the holy Scripture, especially of the new Testament, to expound in order. In choise whereof regard is to be had both of the Ministers ability, and of the edification of the Church.

"He that Preacheth muste performe two things, the first that his speech bee uncorrupt, which is to be considered both in regard to the Doctrine, that it be holy, sound, wholsome and profitable to edification, not divelish, hereticall, leavened, corrupt, fabulous, curious, or contentious; and also in respect of the manner of it, that it be proper to the place which is handled, . . .

"The second thing to be performed by him that preacheth is a reverend gravity; This is considered first in the stile, phrase, and manner of speech, that it be spirituall, pure, proper, simple and applied to the capacity of the people, not such as humane wisdome teacheth, nor favoring of new fangledness, nor either so affectate as it may serve for pompe and ostentation, or so carelesse, and base, as becommeth not Ministers of the Word of God. Secondly, it is also to be regarded aswell in ordering the voyce, in which a care must be had that (avoyding the keeping alwayes of one tune) it may be equall, and both rise and fall by degrees; as also in ordering the gesture, wherein (the body being upright) the guiding and ordering the whole body is to follow the voyce, there being avoyded in it all unseemely gestures of the head or other parts and often turning of the body to divers sides. Finally let the gesture be grave, modest and seemly, not utterly none, nor too much neither like the gestures of Players or Fencers.

"These things are to be performed by him that Preacheth, whereby when need requireth they may

be examined who are trayned and exercised to be made fit to Preach: Let there be, if it may be, every Sabbath day two Sermons, and let them that preach alwayes endeavour to keepe themselves within one houre, especially on the weekdayes. . . .

. . . . .

Of the Communion.

"Let the time of celebrating the Communion bee made known eight dayes before, that the Congregation may prepare themselves, and that the Elders may do their duty in going and visiting whom they ought.

Of Signifying their names that are to communicate.

"Let them which before have not beene received to the Lords Table, when they first desire to come to it, give their names to the Minister seaven dayes before the Communion that care of enquiring of them may be committed to the Elders, that if there be any cause of hindrance there may be stay made betime. . . .

"Let them only be admitted to the Communion that have made Confession of their faith, and submitted themselves to the Discipline, unless they shall bring letters testimoniall of good credit from some other place. . . .

Of Fasting.

"Let the day of Fasting bee published by the Pastor according to the advice of the consistory, either for supplication, for turning away of calamities present or threatened; or for petition of some speciall grace. . . .

Of Holidaies.

"Holidaies are conveniently to be abolished.

. . . . .

. . . . .

"The Discipline intituled 'the Discipline of the Church described in the Word of God' as farre as we can judge, is taken, and drawne from the most pure Fountaine of the Word of God, and containeth in it the Discipline of the Church that is necessary, essentiall and common to all ages of the Church.

"'The Synodicall' also adjoyned, as it resteth upon the same foundations, is likewise necessary and perpetuall; But as farre as it is not expressly confirmed by Authority of the holy Scripture, but is applied to the use and times of the Churches as their divers states may require, according to the Analogy and generall Rules of the same Scripture, is to bee judged profitable for the Churches that receive it, but may bee changed in such things as belong not to the essence of the Discipline upon a like godly reason, as the divers estates of the Church may require.

. . . . .

No. XXIV.

The Millenary Petition.

[Fuller, *Church History* vol. v. p. 305.]

"*The humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies and Abuses of the Church.*

"To the most Christian and excellent prince, our gracious and dread soveraign James, by the grace

of God, &c., we, the ministers of the church of England that desire reformation, wish a long, prosperous, and happy reign over us in this life, and in the next everlasting salvation.

"Most gracious and dread sovereign, seeing it hath pleased the Divine Majesty, to the great comfort of all good Christians, to advance your highness, according to your just title, to the peaceful government of this Church and commonwealth of England: We, the ministers of the gospel in this land, neither as factious men affecting a popular parity in the church, nor as schismatics aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical, but as the faithful servants of Christ and loyal subjects to your majesty, desiring and longing for the redress of divers abuses of the church, could do no less, in our obedience to God, service to your majesty, love to his church, than acquaint your princely majesty with our particular griefs; for, as your princely pen writeth, 'The king, as a good physician, must first know what peccant humours his patient naturally is most subject unto, before he can begin his cure[1].' And, although divers of us that sue for reformation have formerly, in respect of the times, subscribed to the book[2] (some upon protestation, some upon expositions given them, some with condition), rather than the church should have been deprived of their labour and ministry; yet now we, to the number of *more than a thousand* of your majesty's subjects and ministers, all groaning as under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies, do with one joint consent humble ourselves at your majesty's feet, to be eased and relieved in

[1] Quoted from the *Basilikon Doron* (King James's *Works* p. 159, ed. 1616).

[2] i. e. the Book of Common Prayer.

this behalf. Our humble suit then unto your majesty is, that these offences following, some may be removed, some amended, some qualified.

I. "*In the church service.*—That the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants, confirmation, as superfluous may be taken away. Baptism not to be ministered by women, and so explained. The cap and surplice not urged. That examination may go before the communion; that it be ministered with a sermon. That divers terms of priests, and absolution, and some other used, with the ring in marriage, and other such-like in the book, may be corrected. The longsomeness of service abridged. Church songs and music moderated to better edification. That the Lord's day be not profaned. The rest upon holy days not so strictly urged. That there may be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed. No popish opinion to be any more taught or defended. No ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus. That the canonical scriptures only be read in the church.

II. "*Concerning church ministers.*—That none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently, and especially upon the Lord's day. That such as be already entered, and cannot preach, may either be removed, and some charitable course taken with them for their relief; or else to be forced, according to the value of their livings, to maintain preachers. That non-residency be not permitted. That king Edward's statute, for the lawfulness of ministers' marriage, be revived[1]. That ministers

[1] This is interesting and important, since it resulted in legislation. The Statute 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 21 was "An Act to take away all positive Laws made against Marriage

be not urged to subscribe, but, according to the law, to the Articles of Religion and the king's supremacy only.

III. "*For church livings and maintenance.*—That bishops leave their commendams; some holding prebends, some parsonages, some vicarages, with their bishoprics. That double-beneficed men be not suffered to hold, some two, some three benefices with cure; and some two, three, or four dignities besides. That impropriations, annexed to bishoprics and colleges, be demised only to the preachers' incumbents for the old rent. That the impropriations of laymen's fee may be charged with a sixth or seventh part of the worth, to the maintenance of the preaching minister.

IV. "*For church discipline.* That the discipline and excommunication may be administered according to Christ's own institution; or at the least, that enormities may be redressed: as namely, that excommunication come not forth under the name of lay persons, chancellors, officials, &c. That men be not excommunicated for trifles and twelvepenny

of Priests." This was followed by another Act (5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 12, on account of the disparagement of such marriages by certain persons as being only permitted "for the eschewing of greater inconvenience and evils." Both were repealed by Stat. 1 Mar. sess. ii. c. 2. On the accession of Elizabeth the marriage of the clergy received canonical and legal sanction by the Thirty-second Article of Religion: but the two Edwardine Statutes were not revived, probably owing to Elizabeth's well-known aversion to clerical marriage. (See, e.g., Sandys to Parker, April 30, 1559—Burnet v. 506, ed. Pocock: Humphry and Sampson to Bullinger, July 1566—*Zurich Letters* Series I. p. 164.) So things remained till 1604, when Mary's Act was formally repealed, and the two Acts of Edward VI revived, by Stat. 2 [*vulgo* 1] Jac. I. c. 25, sec. xlix, I.

matters. That none be excommunicated without consent of his pastor. That the officers be not suffered to extort unreasonable fees. That none, having jurisdiction or registers' places, put out the same to farm. That divers popish canons (as for restraint of marriage at certain times) be reversed. That the longsomeness of suits in ecclesiastical courts (which hang sometime two, three, four, five, six, or seven years) may be restrained. That the oath *ex officio*, whereby men are forced to accuse themselves, be more sparingly used. That licenses for marriage, without banns asked, be more cautiously granted.

"These, with such other abuses yet remaining and practised in the church of England, we are able to shew not to be agreeable to the scriptures, if it shall please your highness farther to hear us, or more at large by writing to be informed, or by conference among the learned to be resolved. And yet we doubt not but that, without any farther process, your majesty (of whose Christian judgment we have received so good a taste already) is able of yourself to judge of the equity of this cause. God, we trust, hath appointed your highness our physician to heal these diseases. And we say, with Mordecai to Hester, *Who knoweth whether you are come to the kingdom for such a time?* Thus your majesty shall do that which we are persuaded shall be acceptable to God, honourable to your majesty in all succeeding ages, profitable to his church, (which shall be thereby increased,) comfortable to your ministers, (which shall be no more suspended, silenced, disgraced, imprisoned for men's traditions,) and prejudicial to none, but to those that seek their own quiet, credit, and profit in the world. Thus, with all dutiful submission, referring our-

selves to your majesty's pleasure for your gracious answer, as God shall direct you, we most humbly recommend your highness to the Divine Majesty; whom we beseech, for Christ his sake, to dispose your royal heart to do herein what shall be to his glory, the good of his Church, and your endless comfort.

"Your Majesty's most humble Subjects,

THE MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL,

that desire not a disorderly innovation, but a due and godly reformation."

No. XXV.

RICHARD BAXTER'S PRAYER BOOK.

[Printed in 1661, with the title "The Reformation of the Liturgy. As it was Presented to the Right Reverend Bishops, by the Divines Appointed by His Majesties *Commission* to treat with them about the alteration of it. London, Printed, *Anno Dom.* MDCLXI." Reprinted in Baxter's *Works* vol. xv. p. 449 f., ed. Orme; in Hall's *Reliquiae Liturgicae* vol. ii, and elsewhere.]

The book begins with an address "To the Right Reverend Bishops, &c.," in which the book is tendered to them as containing "the alterations which in our former paper we showed to be needful," with "additional forms in Scripture phrase (as near as we well could) suited to the nature of the several parts of worship," the texts being cited in the margin, and the whole being submitted subject to revision if it should be thought necessary.

The book itself contains the ordinary service for

Sundays, "the Order of Celebrating the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ," "the Celebration of the Sacrament of Baptism," and various occasional offices; ending up with the order "Of Pastoral Discipline, Public Confession, Absolution, and Exclusion from the Holy Communion of the Church." And in an Appendix are contained "A Larger Litany, or General Prayer," which is nothing less than our Litany "composed into one solemn prayer to be offered by the minister unto God for the people[1]"; and a general thanksgiving entitled "The Church's Praise for our Redemption." Each of these is "to be used at discretion."

For our purpose it may suffice to give specimens from the first of these; together with one of the rubrics of the Communion Office, which will show what extent of liberty was to be left to the minister.

A.

The Ordinary Public Worship on the Lord's Day.

The Congregation being reverently composed, let the Minister first crave God's assistance, and acceptance of the Worship to be performed, in these or like words.

Eternal, incomprehensible, and invisible God, infinite in power, wisdom and goodness; dwelling in the light which no man can approach, where thousand thousands minister unto thee, and ten thousand times ten thousand stand before thee, yet dwelling with the humble and contrite, and taking pleasure in thy people: thou hast consecrated for us a new

1 Tim. i. 15. Ps. cxlvii. 5. Mt. xix. 17. 1 Tim. vi. 16. Dan. vii. 10. Isa. lvii. 15.

[1] It occupies some fifteen pages in Hall's reprint.

Ps. xlix. 4. Heb. x. 19, 20. Isa. lv. 6. Ps. xcv. 6; xii. 2; xciv. 5; li. 1, 17; lxxxix. 7. Jer. xxxii. 40. Heb. xii. 10. 1 Thess. v. 23. Lev. x. 3. Zech. xii. 10. Rom. viii. 26. Jas. v. 16; i. 6. Isa. xxvi. 8. Mt. xv. 18. John iv. 23, 24. 1 Thess. ii. 13. Acts xvi. 14. Mk. iv. 12. Phil. i. 29. Prov. i. 24, 25. Eccles. v. 1. John vi. 45. Heb. iv. 12, 13. 2 Cor. x. 4, 6. Ps. lxix. 30; cvi. 46; ix. 14; cv. 3; li. 15; xix. 14.

and living way, that with boldness we may enter into the holiest, by the blood of Jesus; and hast bid us seek thee while thou mayest be found. We come to thee at thy call, and worship at thy footstool. Behold us in thy tender mercies. Despise us not, though unworthy. Thou art greatly to be feared in the assembly of the saints, and to be had in reverence of all that are about thee. Put thy fear into our hearts, that with reverence we may serve thee: sanctify us, that thou mayest be sanctified of us, when we draw nigh thee. Give us the Spirit of grace and supplication to help our infirmities, that our prayers may be faithful, fervent, and effectual. Let the desire of our souls be to thee: let us draw near thee with our hearts, and not only with our lips; and worship thee, who art a spirit, in spirit and truth. Let thy word be spoken and heard by us as the word of God. Give us attentive, hearing ears; and opened, believing, understanding hearts: that we may no more refuse thy calls, nor disregard thy merciful, outstretched hand, nor slight thy counsels and reproofs; but be more ready to hear, than to give the sacrifice of fools. Put thy laws into our hearts, and write them in our minds, and let us be all taught of God. Let thy word be unto us quick and powerful; a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart; mighty to pull down strongholds; casting down imaginations and reasonings, and every high thing that advanceth itself against the knowledge of God; and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. Let us magnify thee with thanksgiving, and triumph in thy praise. Let us rejoice in thy salvation, and glory in thy holy name. Open thou our lips, O Lord, and let our mouths shew forth thy praise. And let the words of our mouths and the meditation

of our hearts, be acceptable in thy sight, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. *Amen.* Heb. xiii. 21.

Or thus, when Brevity is necessary [1].

. . . . . .

Next, let one of the Creeds be read by the Minister, saying,

In the profession of this holy Christian Faith we are here assembled.

I believe in God the Father, &c.
I believe in one God, &c.

And sometimes Athanasius's Creed.

The Ten Commandments.

God spake these words, and said, &c.

For the right informing and affecting the People, and moving them to a penitent believing Confession, some of these Sentences may be read.

. . . . . .

The Confession of Sin, and Prayer for Pardon and Sanctification [2].

. . . . . .

Or thus, when brevity is necessary [3].

. . . . . .

For the strengthening of faith, and raising the peni-

[1] The form which follows is about half as long, occupying a page in Hall's reprint, instead of two pages.

[2] Occupying over seven pages in Hall's reprint, and ending with the Lord's Prayer. (All this, be it remembered, is said by the minister only.)

[3] The "brief" form is only just over three pages in length.

tent, some of these sentences of the Gospel may be here read.

Hear what the Lord saith to the absolution and comfort of penitent believers:—

. . . . . .

Hear also what you must be, and do, for the time to come, if you would be saved:—

. . . . . .

Then may be said the 95th, or the 100th Psalm; or the 84th. And next the Psalms in order for the day: and next shall be read a chapter of the Old Testament, such as the Minister findeth most seasonable: or with the liberty expressed in the Admonition before the Second Book of Homilies.

Luke iv. 16, 17, 18.

After which may be sung a Psalm, or the Te Deum said: then shall be read a chapter of the New Testament, and then the Prayer for the King and Magistrates[1]. *And after that, the 67th, or 98th, or some other Psalm, may be sung or said; or the Benedictus, or Magnificat. And the same order to be observed at the Evening worship, if time allow it.*

Acts xiii. 27; xv. 14

[Then follows a long rubrical direction (not however in italics) which is summarized below. The references in the margin to passages of Holy Scripture are here omitted.]

The Minister shall (in the pulpit) first reverently, prudently, and fervently pray, according to the state and necessities of the Church. . . . And after prayer, he shall preach upon some text of Holy Scripture. . . . After Sermon, he shall pray for a blessing on the word of instruction and exhortation, which was delivered: and in his prayers (before or after Sermon) ordinarily he

[1] See *post*, p. 292.

shall pray for the conversion of Heathens[1], Jews, and other infidels: the subversion of idolatry, infidelity, Mahometanism, heresy, Papal tyranny and superstition, schism and profaneness; . . . and in special for these nations: for the King's Majesty and the rest of the Royal Family . . . always taking heed that no mixture of imprudent, disorderly expressions . . . do turn either prayer or preaching into sin. And ordinarily in church-communion . . . a considerable proportion of the public worship must consist of thanksgiving and praises to God . . .; still leaving it to the minister's discretion to abbreviate some parts of worship, when he seeth it to be needful to be longer on some other.

The Sermon and Prayer being ended, let the Minister dismiss the Congregation with a Benediction, in these or like words[2].

. . . . . .

Except there be a communion in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to be celebrated, or any further worship to be performed: and then the Minister may delay the Benediction to the end.

And because, when there is leisure, the prayers of the Church should be as full as the rule and our necessities require; let the following General Prayer be used, when the Minister findeth it convenient, instead of the Litany and Collects.

[1] Baxter was keenly alive to the missionary vocation of the Church. See *Reliquiae Baxterianae* p. 181: "My soul is much more afflicted with the thoughts of the miserable world, and more drawn out in desire of their conversion than heretofore. I was wont to look but little further than England in my prayers, as not considering the state of the rest of the world;—or if I prayed for the conversion of the Jews, that was almost all. But now as I better understand the case of the world, and the method of the Lord's Prayer, so there is nothing in the world that lieth so heavy upon my heart, as the thought of the miserable nations of the earth."

[2] Viz. St. Luke xi. 28; Num. vi. 24-26 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

Here also is adjoined a Thanksgiving for Christ and his benefits, and a Hymn to be used at the discretion of the Minister, either after the Sermon, or at the Communion, or on other days.

A Prayer for the King, the Royal Family, and Magistrates[1].

. . . . . .

The General Prayer[2].

. . . . . .

A Thanksgiving for Christ, and his gracious benefits[3].

. . . . . .

The Hymn[4].

. . . . . .

B.

Rubric from the Communion Office.

Let it be left to the Minister's choice whether he will consecrate the bread and wine together, and break the bread, and pour out the wine immediately; or whether he will consecrate and pour out the wine, when the communicants have eaten the bread. If he do the latter, he must use the foregoing prayers and expressions twice accordingly. And let it be left to his discretion, whether he will use any words at the breaking of the bread and pouring out of the wine, or not. And if the Minister choose to pray but once at the consecration, com-

[1] More than two pages in length.
[2] Nearly eight pages.
[3] Six and a half pages.
[4] In four parts, occupying four and a half pages in all, and consisting of suitable passages of Holy Scripture, especially the Psalms, strung together.

memoration, and delivery, let him pray as followeth, or in this sense.

No. XXVI.

The Exceptions against the Book of Common Prayer [1].

[*Reliquiae Baxterianae* p. 316 f.; Cardwell, *History of Conferences* p. 303 f.; *Documents relating to the Settlement of the Church of England* p. 111 f.]

"... First, that all the prayers, and other materials of the liturgy may consist of nothing *doubtful* or *questioned* amongst pious, learned, and orthodox persons, inasmuch as the professed end of composing them is for the declaring of the unity and consent of all who join in the public worship; it being too evident that the limiting of church-communion to things of *doubtful disputation*, hath been in all ages the ground of schism and separation, according to the saying of a learned person [2].

'To load our public forms with the private fancies upon which we differ, is the most sovereign way to perpetuate schism to the world's end. Prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of the Scriptures, and administration of the sacraments in the plainest and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient liturgy, though nothing either of private opinion, or of church-pomp, of garments, or prescribed gestures, of

[1] I have given here the first four of the general exceptions.

[2] Mr Hales. (In his *Tract concerning Schism and Schismatics.*—*Tracts*, ed. 1716, p. 183.)

imagery, of music, of matter concerning the dead, of many superfluities which creep into the church under the name of *order* and *decency*, did interpose itself. To charge churches and liturgies with things unnecessary, was the first beginning of all superstition, and when scruple of conscience began to be made or pretended, then schism began to break in. If the special guides and fathers of the church would be a little sparing of incumbering churches with superfluities, or not over-rigid, either in reviving obsolete customs, or imposing new, there would be far less cause of schism or superstition; and all the inconvenience were likely to ensue would be but this, they should in so doing yield a little to the imbecility of their inferiors; a thing which St. Paul would never have refused to do. Meanwhile whersoever false or suspected opinions are made a piece of church-liturgy, he that separates is not the schismatic; for it is alike unlawful to make profession of known, or suspected falsehood, as to put in practice unlawful or suspected action.'

II. "Further, we humbly desire that it may be seriously considered, that as our first reformers out of their great wisdom did at that time so compose the liturgy, as to win upon the papists, and to draw them into their church-communion, by varying as little as they well could from the Romish forms before in use: so whether in the present constitution, and state of things amongst us, we should not according to the same rule of prudence and charity, have our liturgy so composed, as to gain upon the judgments and affection of all those who in the substantials of the protestant religion are of the same persuasions with our selves: inasmuch as a more firm union and consent of all such, as well in worship as in doctrine, would greatly strengthen

the protestant interest against all those dangers and temptations which our intestine divisions and animosities do expose us unto, from the common adversary.

III. "That the repetitions, and responsals of the clerk and people, and the alternate reading of the psalms and hymns which cause a confused murmur in the congregation, whereby what is read is less intelligible, and therefore unedifying, may be omitted: the minister being appointed for the people in all public services appertaining unto God, and the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, intimating the people's part in public prayer to be only with silence and reverence to attend thereunto, and to declare their consent in the close, by saying *Amen*.

IV. "That in regard the litany (though otherwise containing in it many holy petitions) is so framed, that the petitions for a great part are uttered only by the people, which we think not to be so consonant to Scripture, which makes the minister the mouth of the people to God in prayer, the particulars thereof may be composed into one solemn prayer to be offered by the minister unto God for the people."

No. XXVII.

The Paper prepared by Bishop Cosin.

[Printed, with the answer by Dr Bates, Dr Jacomb, and Mr Baxter, in *Reliquiae Baxterianae* p. 341; *Documents &c.* p. 346.]

A way humbly proposed to end that unhappy controversy which is now managed in the church,

that the sore may no longer rankle under the debate, nor advantages be got by those that love division.

1. That the question may be put to the managers of the division, whether there be anything in the doctrine, or discipline, or the Common Prayer, or ceremonies, contrary to the word of God; and if they can make any such appear, let them be satisfied.

2. If not, let them then propose what they desire in point of expediency, and acknowledge it to be no more.

3. Let that then be received from them, and speedily taken into the consideration and judgment of the convocation, who are the proper and authentic representatives of the ministry, in whose judgment they ought to acquiesce in such matters; and not only so, but to let the people that follow them, know that they ought not to disturb the peace of the church, under the pretence of the prosecution of expediency, since the division of the church is the great inexpedient.

No. XXVIII.

Concessions made by the Church Commissioners at the Savoy, for Alterations in the Common Prayer.

[Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* ix. 404.]

"We are willing that all the Epistles and Gospels be used according to the last translation.

"That when any thing is read for an Epistle, which is not in the Epistles, the superscription be, *for the Epistle.*

"That the Psalms be collated with the former

translation, mentioned in Rubric, and printed according to it.

"That the words, *this day*, both in the Collects and Prefaces, be used only upon the day itself, and for the following days it be said, *as about this time.*

"That a longer time be required for signification of the names of the Communicants, and the words of the Rubric be changed into these, *at least some time the day before.*

"That the power of keeping scandalous sinners from the Communion, may be expressed in the Rubric, according to the 26th and 27th canons, so the Minister be obliged to give an account of the same immediately after to the ordinary.

"That the whole Preface be prefixed to the Commandments.

"That the second Exhortation be read some Sunday or holyday before the celebration of the communion, at the discretion of the minister.

"That the general Confession at the communion be pronounced by one of the ministers, the people saying after him, all kneeling humbly upon their knees.

"That the manner of consecrating the elements be made more explicit and express; and to that purpose those words be put into the Rubric, *then shall he put his hand upon the bread and break it:* then shall he put his hand unto the cup.

"That if the font be so placed as the congregation cannot hear, it may be referred to the ordinary to place it more conveniently.

"That those words, *Yes, they do perform those,* &c. may be altered thus; *because they promise them both by their sureties.*

"That the words of the last Rubric before the Catechism may be thus altered, *That children being*

baptized, have all things necessary for their salvation, and dying before they commit actual sins, be undoubtedly saved, though they be not confirmed.

"That to the Rubric after Confirmation, these words may be added, *or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.*

"That those words, *with my body I thee worship*, may be altered thus; *with my body I thee honour.*

"That those words, *till death us depart*, be thus altered, *till death us part.*

"That the words *sure and certain* may be left out."

No. XXIX.

Puritan Views on Toleration of Separatists[1].

The following passages may serve to illustrate the position taken up by Puritans with regard to the Separatists:—

1. "[The Independents] may draw away many good people, especially if the ceremonies and the liturgy stand in full force, and their churches tolerated; they will then make brave work in a short time. But let there be no toleration granted, and they well *stript*, and a reformation amongst us in government and ministers, and that fear is over with me."—Edwards, *Vindication* p. 48. (This and the following passage are quoted in Vaughan, *English Nonconformity* p. 158 n.)

2. "The magistrates should remember that they are called pastors: now no godly and faithful pastors

[1] See also Milton's Sonnet "On the New Forcers of Conscience" (Appendix, No. XXXII).

will suffer wolves to come into their folds, and worry and destroy their sheep. How diligent ought they to be to keep out these ravenous wolves, though they come in sheep's clothing! But if they should wilfully suffer the corruption of true religion, and allow of a toleration of all religions, how would this provoke the Lord to anger against the nations!"—*Utter Routing of the Independents and Sectaries* p. 596.

3. "And whereas you speak of opening a gap to Sectaries for private conventicles, and the evil consequences to the state, we only desire you to avoid also the cherishing of ignorance and profaneness, and suppress all Sectaries, and spare not, in a way that will not suppress the means of knowledge and godliness."—*A Defence of our Proposals to His Majesty for Agreement in Matters of Religion*[1] (1660); *Reliquiae Baxterianae* p. 249, *Documents &c.* p. 43.

4. "We do with you heartily rejoice in the Return of our Sovereign unto the Exercise of Government over these his Kingdoms; and as we cannot but own much of GOD in the Way of bringing it about, so we look upon the Thing itself as the Fruit of Prayers, and a Mercy not to be forgotten. Hitherto our GOD hath helped us, in breaking the formidable Power of *Sectaries*, causing them to fall by the Violence of their own Attempts, and in restoring to us our ancient Government after so many Shakings, the only proper Basis to support the Happiness and just Liberties of these Nations," &c.—A Letter to the Ministers in Edinburgh, dated Aug. 10, 1660, and signed by Edmund Calamy,

[1] This was never made public at the time, as it was thought likely to prejudice the cause of the ministers.—*Reliquiae Baxterianae* p. 241.

Simeon Ash, and Thomas Manton. (Kennet, *Register and Chronicle* p. 227.)

No. XXX.

Form of Recantation of Anabaptism.

[Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* p. 14 n., from Christ Church Library, Oxford, Arch. W. Misc. 21, p. 349.]

Queen Elizabeth. 1575

The Form of Recantation prescribed to Certain Anabaptists.

"Whereas I, N. N., being seduced by the spirit of Error, and by false teachers, his ministers, have fallen into many damnable and detestable *Heresies*, viz., first—*That Christ took not flesh of the substance of the blessed Virgin Mary.* 2. *That infants born of faithful parents ought to be rebaptized.* 3. *That no christian man ought to be a magistrate, or bear the sword, or office of authority.* 4. And, *That it is not lawful for a christian man to take an oath.* Now by the grace of God, and through conference with good and learned ministers of Christ His Church, I do understand and acknowledge the same to be most damnable and detestable heresies, and do ask God, here before His Church, mercy for my said former errors; and do forsake them, recant, and renounce them from the very bottom of my heart. And, further, I confess that the whole *doctrine* and *religion established* in this *Realm of England*, as also that which is received and practised in the *Dutch Church* here in this city, is sound, true, and according to the Word of God, whereunto in all things I submit myself, and will most gladly be

a member of the said *Dutch Church* from henceforth, utterly abandoning and forsaking all and every *Anabaptistical Error*."

No. XXXI.

Mr Arber on the Ecclesiastical Position of the "Pilgrim Fathers."

[Arber. *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, Preface, p. 4 f.]

"But still more unexpected, both to the Editor and to the Reader, is the definition of the ecclesiastical position of the Pilgrim Church as that of *The Church of England—once removed*. The evidence convincingly demonstrates the strong affection of that exiled Society to the Church of their fathers—the persecuting Bishops apart: an affection which only deepened as time went on, and experience of life increased. So that the Pilgrim Church stood then much nearer to the Anglican Church than John Wesley and his Community did in the last century. The villagers, that grouped themselves round the Rev. John Robinson and William Brewster, started at first on rigid lines: but as their continental life mellowed their experience, they became large-hearted and broad-souled; and came to look on their separation from the English Church as their misfortune, and not as a thing to glory in.

"Therefore, if the Church of England had existed then, as it exists to-day; the Pilgrim movement would have never come into existence at all. Was it not rather the Stuart tyranny, working through the Church organization (as it did through all the other organizations of the State; and notably that of Justice), that created it."

No. XXXII.

Milton's Sonnet "On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament."

Because you have thrown off your Prelate Lord,
And with stiff vows renounced his Liturgy.
To seize the widowed whore Plurality
From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorred,
Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
To force our consciences that Christ set free,
And ride us with a Classic[1] Hierarchy
Taught ye by mere A. S.[2] and Rutherford?
Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent
Would have been held in high esteem with Paul
Must now be named and printed heretics
By shallow Edwards and Scotch What-d'ye-call[3]!
But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
Your plots and packing, worse than that of Trent[4],
That so the Parliament
May with their wholesome and preventive shears
Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears,
And succour our just fears,
When they shall read this clearly in your charge:
New *Presbyter* is but old *Priest* writ large.

[1] The reference is of course to the Presbyterian *classes*.
[2] Adam Steuart.
[3] According to Prof. Masson (Milton's *Poetical Works* vol ii. p. 478, smaller edition) Robert Baillie is probably here meant.
[4] The reference is of course to the Westminster Assembly.

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